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12 March 1981

# ... FBIS 40TH YEAR 1941-81 ...

## USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 1980



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On behalf of all of us in FBIS I wish to express appreciation to our readers who have guided our efforts throughout the years.

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# USSR REPORT

## SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 1980

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ADHERENCE OF SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE TO PARTY PRINCIPLES

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SOVIET SOCIOLOGY FOR THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS: THE WORKING CLASS UNDER THE  
CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

THE WORKING CLASS AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 9-18

/Article by Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician Petr Nikolayevich Fedoseyev/

/Text/ The problems of the social development of the working class--the leading force of Soviet society--have constantly been at the center of attention of our party. The Leninist policy of the CPSU, which is being pursued in the interests of all the people, is aimed at achieving the complete social homogeneity of Soviet society. This lofty humane goal of communism is now appearing visibly in the objective trends of the development and improvement of socialist social relations. A thorough knowledge of these trends and of the specific mechanisms of the increase of the social homogeneity of Soviet society is one of the most important tasks of the social sciences.

A thorough analysis of various aspects of the development and activity of the working class is given in the documents and materials of the 24th and 25th party congresses, in the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and in the speeches and statements of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The attention to these problems has a concrete political direction, since it is a matter of the working class of the USSR, "whose labor is at the basis of the might and prosperity of the country and whose ideology--Marxism-Leninism--serves as the guiding star of our movement toward the heights of social progress."<sup>1</sup>

A sharp ideological struggle is being waged over the problems of the development and activity of the working class and its role in the historical process. On the one hand, the interest in the history and current problems of the working class is increasing throughout the world. As the International Forum of Researchers of the Working Class and the Working Class Movement, which was held in Paris recently, on 22-25 April 1980, showed, the analysis of these problems has become an important direction of the activity of social scientists and is becoming widespread in many countries. Marxist scholars, many researchers and activists of the working class

The speeches at an applied science conference devoted to the problems of the social development of the Soviet working class under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution are the basis for the articles which are published under this heading. The conference was held in Gor'kiy (June 1980). See the report on it below in the section "Scientific Life."

movement, trade union and other public organizations from 60 countries were widely represented at this forum, which was organized with the assistance of UNESCO. It was decided to hold such forums regularly, once every three to four years. It is very important for us to take advantage of the extensive interest in this field of scientific knowledge and to promote its development in every possible way throughout the world in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist methodology.

On the other hand, the increase of the role of the working class under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution is forcing bourgeois and social-reformist ideologists to maneuver. Some of them, by distorting the true picture of the evolution of capitalist society, are advancing absurd ideas about the "transformation" and even the "disappearance" of the proletariat as a class, on the basis of which the conclusion is drawn that social conflicts and the class struggle are disappearing. Claiming that the facilitation of physical labor in the process of the automation and mechanization of production is leading ostensibly to the self-elimination of the working class, the theorists of "post-industrial," "techno-tronic" society predict the withdrawal of the proletariat from politics, its long-ing primarily for the sphere of amusements, mass entertainment, sports and so on. They ignore the growing scale of the strike movement and the tension of the class battles in the capitalist countries and interpret the working class as some "sum of automated individuals," who are ostensibly concerned only about their own fate, and not the achievement of class ideals. The apologists of modern bourgeois society also link their hopes for a "crisis of Marxism," a "crisis of the working class movement" and so forth with the mythical "transformations" of the working class.

These old, repeatedly refuted ideas are given at times in a touched up form, and the analysis of real processes is interwoven with unscientific speculative constructs. Their criticism should be based on a truly scientific analysis of the current trends of the development of the working class, especially the historical experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Of course, our science and practice are first of all interested in the processes taking place in the sphere of production, in the area of socio-economic relations.

It is impossible to study the problems of the social development of the working class and its role in society today without taking into account a phenomenon of global historical importance--the scientific and technical revolution. It has enveloped literally all spheres of life of modern man, radically transforming both the material basis of production and the content of the labor activity of people. Under its influence the tools and technology of production the sources of energy and the objects of labor are changing, shifts are occurring in the correlation of the different sectors of the national economy and accordingly in the structure of employment. The functions and composition of manpower are changing, the level of the general and vocational education and the skills of both young people, who are entering working life, and of experienced production workers is increasing. The scientific and technical revolution is bringing about the need for new cooperation of man, technology and nature. Its influence--direct or indirect--is also being felt to a greater and greater extent in the nonproductive spheres of social life, for example, in the change of the forms of spending leisure time.

The social consequences of the scientific and technical revolution in capitalist society and under socialism are fundamentally different. Historical experience



attests that scientific and technical progress under the conditions of capitalism serves as a tool of the narrow selfish interests of those classes and social groups, in whose hands the scientific, technical and production potential is concentrated. The acceleration of technical modernization in bourgeois countries is being accompanied by the intensification and increase of the exploitation of labor, by a decrease of workplaces and accordingly an increase of the number of unemployed and by a pronounced change of ecological conditions for the worse. In spite of the enormous increase of the machine-worker ratio and labor productivity in industry, the prices for goods and services are rising rapidly and inflation is accelerating uncontrollably. There are no grounds to see the cause of this paradoxical situation in technical progress, since it is not a simple consequence of economic processes. It is our conviction that inflation is being spurred on by the class policy of big business, which is making a fortune at the expense of the people of labor. Those who inflate defense budgets and by jacking up prices increase their profits, reducing to naught the periodic increase of the wages of workers, for which they have to wage a determined struggle against their employers, are to blame for it. Inflation and the increase of prices are at the same time a component of the neo-colonialist policy, as a result of which the gap between the economically developed and backward countries is not decreasing but increasing.

Theorists who underestimate, and especially deny the progressive importance of the scientific and technical revolution in current world development, are greatly mistaken. It is impossible to agree with the primitive arguments of doctrinaires who consider technology to be the source of all evils and disasters, a demonic force hostile to man.

Under the conditions of socialism the scientific and technical revolution is in full accord with the interests of the people and is a mighty lever of the acceleration of the building of a communist society. The profound changes in the equipment, technology and organization of production directly influence the structure and makeup of the working class, first of all its industrial detachment, and the social development of the engineering and technical intelligentsia and create the material and technical conditions for overcoming the social differences between the representatives of physical and mental labor.

As is known, technocratic theories, according to which the scientific and technical revolution is leading to the decline of the role of the working class and the working masses in general in production, management and social life, have become widespread in the West. It is believed that the scientific and technical intelligentsia primarily or even exclusively has become the motive force of history. Here the obvious fact that technology is created by people and serves progress only in the hands of man or under his control, is consigned to oblivion.

V. I. Lenin said that the alliance of the working class and the representatives of science and technology is a great invincible force.<sup>2</sup> At present this fact is obvious and correct as never before. All the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution--from microcells to nuclear reactors and spacecraft--were created by the hands of the people of labor.

The adoption of scientific research developments in production is not only an economic task, but also a great problem of the philosophy of life and moral philosophy. The point is that an understanding of the fact that any technical innovation can



find real life only in the activity of the popular masses should be incorporated in the philosophy of life, in the stand in life of the scientist and developer of new technology, as well as the production manager. At the same time in the consciousness of each worker it is necessary to firmly establish the fact that a high level of material well-being and spiritual development can be achieved only on the basis of the use of the latest achievements of science and technology.

Recently the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences discussed the report of President of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician B. Ye. Paton on a system of management of scientific and technical progress, as well as the report of the executives of the Western Scientific Center on the practical experience of organizing interdepartmental scientific production complexes following the example of L'vovskaya Oblast. It is typical that an important role in the movement for the combination of science with production belongs to society, to labor collectives under the direction of the primary party organizations. Scientific and technical societies and public creative multiple-skill brigades, which include scientists, engineers and technicians and worker-innovators, are making an important contribution. The conclusion of contracts on cooperation between scientific institutions and the collectives of enterprises is being used extensively. The work experience of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences received approval in the statements of L. I. Brezhnev as an example of the fruitful combination of science and production.

On the basis of practical experience we know that scientific and technical progress serves as the motive force of social development when it becomes a matter of all the people. The everyday management of it is the most important task of party organizations.

The scientific and technical reequipment of production has become one of the leading goals and main indicators of socialist competition. It is necessary to learn to use the system of material and mental stimulation for the purpose of expediting technical progress. Meanwhile it still frequently happens that an enterprise, while completely spending the corresponding bonus fund for the overfulfillment of the production plan, at the same time does not fulfill the plan of the introduction of new equipment, and only partially realizes even the capital specially allocated for its assimilation. It turns out that both the plans of enterprises and the practice of stimulation do not always take into account the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

With the increase of the technical equipment of production the role and responsibility of each worker and the entire labor collective increase. The use of the latest complex and, as a rule, expensive machines and units requires the strictest labor discipline and great conscientiousness. When manual labor is used, the unauthorized absence of two or three workers from a collective of thousands is not very noticeable, the downtime of two or three automatic machines at a modern enterprise can lead to the nonfulfillment of the plan. When educating the Soviet people in the spirit of humanism, mutual respect and a comradely attitude toward each other, we should also cultivate a responsible attitude toward the process of social production, its rhythm, the means of labor and product quality.

The party has trained fine staffs of economic managers and talented organizers, who have a knowledge of modern technology and are devoted to the cause of communism. At

the same time the new situation requires the reformation of the thinking and work style of economic managers and production leaders. It is necessary for technical progress to become the main lever of the increase of the end results of production. It is no secret that some economic managers are trying to utilize other levers, the use of which is at variance with public interests, in particular: they seek a reduction of the plan in order to fulfill it more rapidly and to obtain the corresponding incentive; they try to obtain more material, financial and manpower resources in order to achieve high indicators easily, without effort, although with unjustified extravagance; finally, they attempt to find a pretext for increasing the price for their products in order to artificially increase the profitability of the enterprise.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on improving the economic mechanism raise certain obstacles against such methods, but, unfortunately, they have not yet been eliminated. Passports of enterprises, which should become the main documents on their production potentials, are now being drawn up in conformity with the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. But there have already been instances when a passport has been made up, in accordance with which the enterprises not only cannot increase the output, but should decrease it almost by one-half as compared with the existing level. All this points out that in the activity of some managers of enterprises and associations the principles of cost accounting are being distorted, not conscientious, correct accounting, but an unusual miscounting, to the detriment of society and its citizens--the consumers of the wealth being produced--is being made. In places public organizations also tolerate this.

The Leninist principles of cost accounting, the profitability of enterprises and the material interest of workers constitute the basis of the socialist economic mechanism. They are acquiring especially great importance in connection with the solution of the problems of expediting scientific and technical progress. Their consistent, conscientious implementation is the most important condition of the fulfillment of the plans of economic and social development. It is the duty not only of economic managers, but also of party organizations. It is a matter of not transforming cost accounting into self-seeking and mercenary-mindedness, but of integrally combining it with communist ideas and communist causes. The sense of being the master of the country, which is characteristic of the working class as the guiding force of society, places upon each labor collective and each worker the responsibility for the state of affairs at the enterprise or institution and for the communist direction of their activity.

On the basis of the development of physical production socialist production relations are improving, the existing differences between classes, between people of primarily physical and mental labor, between the city and the countryside are gradually disappearing. One of the decisive conditions of the elimination of the differences between mental and physical labor consists, as is known, in the elimination of the vestiges of the old division of labor, first of all hard physical labor, which still constitutes an appreciable proportion of the aggregate national labor in our national economy.

The trends which characterize the aspects of the way of life of Soviet workers, engineers, technicians and other working people outside production also have a significant influence. They are a reflection of the new traits of their spiritual makeup, the increased level of education and culture, needs and interests.

Comprehensive studies of trends of this type are being conducted both in the USSR and in other socialist countries. Joint work of scholars of the fraternal countries, particularly within the problem commissions of multilateral cooperation of the academies of sciences of the socialist countries, is becoming more and more widespread. Within this work the studies on the themes "The Working Class in the World Revolutionary Movement" and "The Evolution of the Social Structure of Socialist Society" are devoted directly to the working class.

One of the most important regularities of the development of the working class under the conditions of socialism is its dynamic nature. Statistical data and sociological studies show that in the USSR the absolute and relative size of the working class is steadily increasing; its sectorial and territorial structures are undergoing substantial changes; the level of the general and occupational standards of the workers and their well-being are increasing rapidly; the number of people, whose labor is characterized by increasing complexity, a great proportion of intellectual efforts, the need to make nonstandard decisions and an increase of involvement in the activity of large collectives, is increasing within all the detachments of the working class. The indicated traits appear especially clearly in the nature and content of the labor of the workers who are employed in the industrial sectors of physical production. Detachments and strata of the working class are forming, which are close in the nature and content of their labor to engineering and technical personnel. Summarizing the main results of these changes, L. I. Brezhnev indicated: "A production worker of a new type, in whose activity physical and mental labor are being combined more and more harmoniously, is developing under the conditions of mature socialism and under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution."<sup>3</sup>

The complete mechanization and automation of production are the most essential and long-acting factors of the trend in question. On this basis it is possible to presume that in the future highly skilled and well-educated workers, who are engaged in the control and service of efficient automatic equipment, will predominate in physical production. The scientific analysis of the formation of this social group is of great importance for understanding the laws of the development not only of the working class, but also of socialist society as a whole.

Of course, in real life the process of the appearance and growth of the stratum of production workers of the new type takes place gradually and develops not without contradictions. Thus, the automation of production goes through a number of successive stages--from the introduction of semi-automatic machines and semi-automatic flow lines to complete automation, which is based on automatic lines and automatic control systems of technological processes. The last stage creates the most favorable conditions for increasing the meaningfulness of labor and the satisfaction with it, while in attending semi-automatic machines the majority of workers simply supplement the work of the machine with the labor of their own hands.

Only complete automation frees people from direct involvement in the process of working objects of labor. It makes labor more diverse and independent, increases the opportunity to apply available knowledge creatively and thereby creates the conditions for the development of abilities, and requires the constant increase of occupational skill, and what is more overall standards. As a result the labor of workers, who are engaged in the monitoring of the operation of automatic systems,



their adjustment and the general checking of them, by its nature comes substantially closer to the labor of engineering and technical personnel, the process of equalizing all the meaningful social characteristics of the workers of modern production takes place. A typical example is workers of pilot experimental works. In their labor the creative elements prevail over the purely performer elements, which result from both the technical level of the given works and the direct involvement of the workers in the development of new models of machines and equipment jointly with engineers and designers. The meaningfulness of labor in the case of a relatively small proportion of routine, monotonous operations requires the constant extension of occupational knowledge, a broad outlook, flexibility and the aptitude for self-discipline.

The most important of the changes in the composition of the working class, which occur under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution, is the rapid absolute and relative increase of the number of workers employed in consumer service. It is characteristic that from 1960 to 1978 the number of workers in construction and industry increased by 53 percent, in transportation--60 percent, while in trade, public dining, housing and municipal services, personal service, health, education and other sectors of the social infrastructure it increased by 110 percent; now 18.5 million workers, which is almost one-fourth of the USSR working class, work in this sector of the national economy.<sup>4</sup> At the basis of this process is the increase, on the one hand, of labor productivity in the sectors of physical production and, on the other, of the need of the population for the development of a modern system of service. Moreover, in the latter the number of workers of industrial specialization (mechanics, electricians, drivers and so forth) along with workers of the traditional service occupations (salespeople, cooks, barbers and hairdressers and others) is increasing rapidly. Statistical organs previously grouped the majority of them as employees, but since the early 1970's have grouped them with the working class.

Such a rapid enlargement of the indicated detachments of the working class means that the entire national economy has in fact become the sphere of its production activity and, consequently, the strength of its influence on the social and economic processes of the development of Soviet society has increased substantially. But at the same time it is impossible to overlook the fact that these are truly new, in many respects just forming detachments, which still have to acquire many of the attributes of the working class, which promoted it to the role of the foremost champion of the socialist reorganization of the world. Keeping in mind all the problems and difficulties of the formation of the detachments of the working class in the sectors of the social infrastructure, it is necessary to take into account that the labor on serving people requires a significant increase of both the overall culture and the occupational skill of the workers employed here. Consequently, all the main directions of the dynamics of the composition of the working class in connection with the scientific and technical revolution and under its influence lead under socialism to the systematic increase of the level of the overall and work standards of the working class, which is one of the manifestations of the advantages of the socialist system.

This trend developed especially intensively in the 1970's, when tens of millions of boys and girls, among whom in practice there were none (or very few) who had not received a secondary education, entered working life. Whereas in 1959 only

17.3 percent of all those employed in the USSR national economy had a secondary and higher education and in 1970 only 34.2 percent did (a 17-percent increase in 11 years), in 1979 54.2 percent did (a 20-percent increase in 9 years).<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the overwhelming majority of young people who have received a general secondary education are going not to higher educational institutions, but to work, reinforcing primarily the ranks of the working class, and many graduates of *tekhnikums* are working at least a part of their life at workplaces. Thus, the development of the educational system has a direct influence on the skills of the workers and promotes an increase of their creative activeness both at work and in public activity and daily life.

But we need more detailed, thorough, I would say, more precise knowledge of what consequences these shifts have caused in the spiritual life of the workers, in their cultural needs, the structure of free time, the different displays of public activeness, morality. Without such knowledge, without its effective use in the interests of the further accelerated development of our society we risk making mistakes in the ideological, political educational and organizing work with the different groups of workers.

In this connection it is necessary to speak about the great importance of sociological research, the need for the development of which is indicated in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work." In recent years our science has gained some experience in the sociological study of the problems of labor, the social structure of Soviet society, free time, education, ideological processes and others. Its results are being utilized more and more extensively in social planning and management. The theoretical basis of research has become more thorough and solid, its link with social statistics has become stronger, the methods have been improved. Special sociological services, which give much assistance to party organizations and economic managers in solving social problems, have been set up in some sectorial ministries and departments and at many large enterprises.

However, there are still many shortcomings in the pursuit of sociological research. One of them I would call the lack of a systematic nature. Most often it is pursued on uncoordinated themes, on more or less random subjects, the findings and recommendations of sociologists are far from always adequately substantiated and convincing. It is important for the study of social processes to be of a consistent, systematic nature and to make it possible to reveal their dynamics.

In analyzing the radical changes in the conditions and content of labor, which result from automation and other structural shifts in production technology, in the occupational composition of the regular labor force and in its culture, it should not be overlooked that this process also gives rise to new problems and difficulties. Thus, on the one hand, automation decreases not only the difficulty of labor, but also the degree of environmental pollution at the workplace and the risk of injuries. On the other hand, some problems remain unsolved or arise anew, for example, the high level of noise, the "muscle shortage" among operators of automated production, monotonous work at control panels and so on.

Moreover, the automation of production is still not always of a comprehensive nature, appearing in the form of the introduction of semi-automatic machines,

individual automated machine tools, unautomated remote control systems, the use of which involves the performance of routine manual operations. Moreover, complete automation often leads to the reproduction on the "periphery" of the automated process of many old problems, including the retention of a high proportion of workers who are engaged in auxiliary, unskilled types of labor. Of course, the more extensively technical progress embraces the main, leading sections of production and the higher the level of education is of the workers engaged in types of labor which are of little meaning, the greater the effect the complexity of such a situation has.

The study of the processes of the realization of the new objective conditions of the labor activity of workers and their higher status characteristics (education, vocational training) with respect to labor is an important scientific problem which is also of great practical significance. In other words, it is necessary to study more thoroughly how the high level of cultural development of the working class is "remelted" into its production and social activeness and what factors promote this. Meanwhile it should be acknowledged that the dynamics of the attitude toward labor, production and public political activity of the workers under new, changing conditions is not being analyzed enough and thoroughly. But science is capable of giving practice much assistance precisely in the section of the "research field."

The consideration of the dynamics of social and cultural growth is especially important when it is a matter of the rapidly developing regions of the country and sectors of the national economy. In this respect the conference we are holding in Gor'kiy is very significant. Gor'kiy is a city with the richest revolutionary and labor traditions, the celebrated home of many innovative initiatives, one of the centers of modern technology and science, education and culture. Workers of industry, construction and transportation make up the majority of its population of nearly 1.5 million. Such a city is an excellent "observation point" for the study of the social processes which characterize the development of the Soviet working class and our national intelligentsia.

That is why it is very important that in Gor'kiy two major sociological studies were conducted according to comparable programs in sequence, 15 years apart. Their results, to the generalization of which our conference is mainly devoted, make it possible to trace the many substantial changes which have occurred at the enterprises of the city and oblast over the past decade and a half.

During those years in Gor'kovskaya Oblast, as throughout the country, the structure of the working class as a whole developed progressively, the number of highly skilled workers increased especially rapidly. The enterprises built in the oblast conform to the current level of development of technology. Old plants were thoroughly renovated, new large industrial regions appeared. However, so far the development of production and the improvement of socialist social relations to a great extent have been checked owing to the retention of a high proportion of manual, unskilled labor and the use of obsolete equipment and technology. This, as the study conducted shows, is also typical of many enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast. Along with major gains in the implementation of scientific and technical achievements and in the improvement of the technology, economics and organization of production many workplaces at which unskilled labor is used still remain at a number of plants and factories. This is at variance not only with the interests of

the workers, but also with the tasks of raising labor productivity and increasing production efficiency and work quality.

In spite of the fact that the number of workers engaged in manual labor in recent years has decreased appreciably, at the enterprises of the oblast it constitutes about one-third of all the workers of industry, while in the wood processing sector it constitutes 40 percent. The expert appraisal made during the studies of 1,500 workplaces, which were selected according to specially elaborated indicators, attests that 30 percent of them have very adverse health conditions (a high noise level, considerable air pollution, a high dust content and so forth). Not by chance did the survey of workers reveal the high degree of their interest in the improvement of working conditions. Along with scientific research institutes and design organizations, it is necessary to enlist labor collectives and the most experienced workers and engineers in the solution of these problems. Suffice it to say that 84.2 percent of the surveyed workers and engineering and technical personnel expressed the desire to take an active part in this work.

The study also showed that sound recommendations on regulating the placement of personnel are required. Thus, according to the appraisal of the experts, only 15.8 percent of the surveyed workers perform a job of the 5th and 6th categories, while 28 percent are paid according to these categories. And on the other hand, 34.8 percent in fact have a job of the 1st and 2d categories, but only 20 percent hold these ranks.

Skilled workers and engineering and technical personnel are now making greater demands on the moral and psychological climate in the labor collectives. The managers and public organizations of enterprises and sociologists have to give serious thought to this.

There are also other questions to which it is necessary to devote more attention. A mass survey of workers and engineering and technical personnel at enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast showed that the opportunities for the extensive involvement of working people in production management and in the solution of many ripe social problems are still far from being taken full advantage of. It is characteristic, for example, that the number of those who expressed the desire to take an active part in the social life of the collectives exceeds by many times the number of those who have public commitments. Educated, experienced workers are clearly being inadequately enlisted in various types of community work, while many engineering and technical personnel are overloaded with various assignments.

The possibilities of increasing the general educational, cultural and technical level of workers, of steadily increasing the skills of engineering and technical personnel and of involving the most trained, conscientious workers in studies in the system of higher and secondary specialized education for the purpose of training a highly skilled reinforcement of the production intelligentsia are also not always taken full advantage of. Much still has to be done also to improve the structure of the free time of workers, to meet their increasing spiritual needs and to eliminate from their life phenomena which are at variance with communist morals.

Of course, if we compare the results of the current survey with the data of 1964, it is possible to speak with firm confidence about the unquestionable and major



progressive changes in the structure, makeup and way of life of the workers of Gor'kiy enterprises. However, it is also necessary not only to compare with the past, but also to emulate our current needs, to compare what has been achieved with the communist ideal.

We are approaching the 26th party congress, which will specify the further directions of the thorough development of our society. The generalization of the new data of science and practice, which pertain to the social development of the working class and the intelligentsia and to the increase of the efficiency and quality of their labor, is in this connection of especially great importance.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 320.
2. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 40, p 189.
3. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 6, p 625.
4. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1978], Moscow, 1979, p 368.
5. See "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g." [Results of the 1970 All-Union Census], Vol 5, Moscow, 1972, p 66; "Naseleniye SSSR" [The Population of the USSR], Moscow, 1980, pp 19, 31.

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## INDICATORS OF THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 19-24

[Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Timon Vasil'yevich Ryabushkin, director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] In carrying out the task set by the 25th CPSU Congress of studying the changes in the social structure of Soviet society, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences has drawn up and has begun to conduct in essence the first all-union sociological study in our country in order to elaborate the indicators of the social development of the working class and the scientific and technical intelligentsia, which covers large industrial regions. For the first time an attempt has been made to obtain on the basis of a general method specific material which will make it possible to make an interregional comparison of the social development of the working class and to identify its general trends and specific features.

The turn to the problem of the indicators of the social development of the working class is dictated not only by the need to further elaborate theoretical questions, but also by the needs of solving practical problems of improving the social structure of our society. Here we will dwell on several results of the study which was conducted at industrial enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast.<sup>1</sup> The choice of precisely this region for a generalized analysis of the first results is not accidental. Being the most typical with respect to the social structure of the working class (which makes it possible to extrapolate the theoretical and practical conclusions to other industrial regions), it serves as a unique testing ground for our sociologists. A monograph published in 1965 summarized one of the first comprehensive sociological studies of the social structure of the Soviet working class on the theme "The Working Class and Technical Progress." The mentioned study was conducted in 1960-1964 in Gor'kiy on the initiative of Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician P. N. Fedoseyev. In the 1970's a number of studies of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the international study "Automation and Industrial Workers" were conducted here.

The 1979 study is of particular interest, since its method was elaborated with allowance made for previously obtained results, which is of great importance for the comparative analysis of data and the identification of the leading trends and laws of the improvement of the social structure of the working class.

More than 2,000 workers and engineering and technical personnel of the 12 leading industrial enterprises of Balakhna, Gor'kiy and Dzerzhinsk were surveyed, 1,500 workplaces were studied and about 10,000 units of information were gathered. Party, Komsomol, managerial and soviet workers of Gor'kovskaya Oblast provided much assistance in this.

The working class makes up the largest social group of the USSR--77.3 million people, or 61.5 percent of the employed population.<sup>2</sup> In industrially highly developed Gor'kovskaya Oblast the proportion of workers is considerably greater than on the average for the country and constitutes more than four-fifths of those employed in physical production.

The increase of the size of the working class is connected with significant historical stages of the development of our country. The First through Third Five-Year Plans account for the most rapid increase of its size--twofold. The average annual growth rate of the working class of the prewar Fourth through Sixth Five-Year Plans was equal on the average to 5.4 percent, but from 1965 to 1980 it has decreased, being 2.96 percent for the Eighth Five-Year Plan, 2.28 percent for the Ninth Five-Year Plan and 1.93 percent for the 10th Five-Year Plan. During the 11th Five-Year Plan a further decrease is anticipated due to the demographic situation which formed in the 1970's and 1980's.<sup>3</sup>

Whereas during the years of the first five-year plans the peasantry was the largest social reserve of the working class, at present the working class is being reinforced by means of all classes and social groups of the USSR, most significantly from its own midst. The stable nucleus of the regular labor force with a long length of service now substantially exceeds other sources.

During the past three five-year plans (1965-1978) the changes in the correlation of their proportion have been characteristic of the sectorial detachments of the working class. Thus, the proportion of the industrial detachment decreased 3.6 percent (and is now 39.4 percent of all workers); the proportion of the agricultural detachment decreased 1.6 percent (13.7 percent); the proportion of the transportation detachment is stable (11.4 percent) and the proportion of the construction detachment increased negligibly (11.0 percent). In aggregate the industrial, construction and transportation detachments form the industrial nucleus of the working class, about two-third of its total size.<sup>4</sup>

In the accountability report to the 24th CPSU Congress L. I. Brezhnev noted: "The place of the working class in socialist society is determined not only by its size, which can fluctuate depending on the development of the economy and the pace of the scientific and technical revolution. The working class was and remains the main productive force of society. Its revolutionary nature, discipline and collectivism determine its leading role in the system of socialist production relations."<sup>5</sup>

The further improvement of the social structure and qualitative composition of the working class is now acquiring particular importance. In our country the increase of public wealth is provided by means of the factors of intensive development--by the increase of quality and production efficiency, the increase of labor productivity on the basis of the use of the latest equipment and advanced methods of the organization of labor. These factors have a substantial influence on the social

development of the working class, which is a conscious and planned process which is guided by the Communist Party and the Soviet state and embraces all aspects of the vital activity of the workers. Along the production line this process takes the form of the change of the nature and content of labor, the increase of the intellectual, creative and organizing elements in the labor of the worker; along the economic line--the increase of the material well-being of the working class family; along the political line--the increase of the labor and public activeness of the workers; along the cultural line--the increase of their educational level and skills. The indicators of the results of the social development of the working class accordingly are: first, the characteristics of its labor; second, the level of skills, culture and education; third, the degree of public activeness. These indicators make it possible to trace both the change in the internal social structure of the working class and its increasing convergence with the intelligentsia, first of all the engineering and technical intelligentsia. At the 25th CPSU Congress the fundamental importance of the changes of the nature and content of labor was emphasized, for this expedites the convergence of physical and mental, industrial and agricultural labor.

The sociological study conducted showed that in Gor'kiy and Gor'kovskaya Oblast the progressive technical and technological transformations accomplished since 1965 (the increase of the number of mechanized flow lines by more than twofold, of automatic flow lines by more than 2.5-fold, and of completely mechanized and automated sections, shops, works and enterprises by threefold) were reflected in changes of the skill structure of the workers. The ratio of the number of workers of low, intermediate and high categories in USSR industry according to the data of 1972 was 28 : 51 : 21.<sup>6</sup> In 1975 the skill structure of the workers of industry of Gor'kiy basically was in line with this ratio, but by 1979 the proportion of workers of low categories had already decreased significantly. However, a real correspondence of the requirements of the workplace and the skills of the workers actually exists only among workers of the intermediate categories. There are 1.5-fold more workplaces of low skill than there are workers themselves of categories I and II, while there are approximately one-half as many places where high skill is required as there are highly skilled workers.

Substantial physical assets and some time are required to change the structure of the workplaces in industrial production, which formed historically and contains positions which have become obsolete technically, technologically and socio-economically. At the same time the industrial enterprise does not also have a serious interest in the more rapid and consistent reduction of the workplaces of low skill. The structure of workplaces, of which 35-40 percent are oriented toward a low category of jobs, maintains, preserves a greater stratum of workers of low skill than the wage categories show. As a result a so-called shortage of workers of low skilled labor arises in production, and the enterprise either artificially increases the wages of the workers of categories I and II or replaces them with workers of categories III and IV, arousing among the latter the feeling of dissatisfaction with their labor.

The structure of workplaces, in which the proportion of unskilled labor is high, at present does not objectively correspond to the more developed skill structure of the workers themselves, impedes and checks their development. This objective discrepancy can and should be resolved in a historically short time.

The question of the correlation of physical and mental inputs among workers of different skill groups is an essential aspect of the problem of improving the nature and content of labor. It is possible to a certain extent to judge the direction and trends of the process of convergence of people of physical and mental labor from how these inputs correlate. In the method elaborated by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences the following parameters for characterizing the inputs of physical and mental labor are distinguished: the overall physical load of labor, the degree of uniformity of the physical workload, the independence of decision-making at the workplace, the complexity of work instructions (algorithms) and the information being processed. The change of these characteristics was accomplished on the basis of an expert appraisal on the nine-point scale. The selection of experts was made according to a special method. Managers of the "second level" (the supervisor of the immediate supervisor of the respondent) acted as the experts.

The average proportion of the maximum inputs of mental labor, which was calculated on the basis of the analysis of these inputs according to three variables (independent decision-making at the workplace, the degree of algorithmization of labor, the complexity of the information being processed), was: for workers of categories I and II--3.2 percent, categories III and IV--15.3 percent, categories V and VI--41.3 percent, while for engineering and technical personnel--53.9 percent. Thus, according to this index workers of high skill are significantly closer to engineering and technical personnel than even to workers of intermediate skill.

The average proportion of the maximum inputs of physical labor was among workers of low skill 27.5 percent, intermediate skill--21.7 percent, high skill--24.9 percent, while for engineering and technical personnel it was 3.6 percent. From the cited data it follows that the inputs of physical labor are also a differentiating indicator--among workers they are seven- to eightfold greater than among engineering and technical personnel, the intraclass differences are negligible. The inputs of physical labor are greatest among workers of low skill, they decrease among workers of intermediate skill (with whom, as a rule, all workers of mechanized labor are grouped) and increase again among workers of high skill (among whom the proportion of complex manual labor is great).

The inputs of mental labor first of all govern the intraclass differentiation. They are minimal among workers of the low categories and increase fivefold among workers of the high categories. If we take the physical workload to be 1, the ratio of physical and mental inputs for workers of low skill would be 1 : 0.12, of intermediate skill--1 : 0.70, of high skill--1 : 1.66, engineering and technical personnel--1 : 14.97. In other words, the proportion of mental and physical inputs among workers of intermediate skill has an approximately equal ratio, while among workers of high skill the mental inputs exceed by 1.5-fold the physical inputs. The process of the intellectualization of labor and the convergence with the engineering and technical intelligentsia in the content of labor occur most intensively precisely in this group.

It is possible to judge to what extent the workers themselves and the engineering and technical personnel are oriented toward an intellectual, creative content of labor from their evaluation of the diversity, independence, responsibility and other creative elements of their job. In the 1964 study the workers rated highest



the importance of the diversity of labor (36.9 percent). Then followed responsibility (16.5 percent) and independence (17.4 percent). The overall index of the importance of a creative content of labor was 16.6 percent.<sup>7</sup>

As compared with 1964 in 1979 the orientations of the workers toward the diversity of labor increased 1.5-fold, independence--9-fold, responsibility--4.5-fold. The overall index increased more than threefold. Moreover, the appraisal of the elements of creativity is the highest among workers of high skill and engineering and technical personnel--respectively 72.1 and 74.2 percent, while among workers of the low categories it is 62.0 percent and of the intermediate categories--65.5 percent. Thus, the five-year period yielded a very significant positive qualitative shift in the evaluation by workers of the importance of a creative content of labor.

An assessment of the actual possibility of having good working conditions and an orientation toward them were established in the studies of 1964 and 1979. From 1964 to 1979 the orientation of workers toward good working conditions increased significantly. At the same time a significant discrepancy between the appraisals of the actually existing and desired conditions was detected. For example, 25.6 percent of the workers of low categories, 15.5 percent of the workers of high categories and 9.2 percent of the engineering and technical personnel have an opportunity to increase their wages. In all the groups there are considerably more who have higher wages in view--respectively 54.1, 49.7 and 44.4 percent. At the enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast 25 percent of the workers of each group can improve their skills, while 31.1 percent of the workers of low categories, 39.4 percent of the workers of high categories and 47 percent of the engineering and technical personnel are oriented toward improving their skills. As a whole this trend is also typical of other regions surveyed by the same method, although the indicators for the individual groups differ somewhat.

According to the data of the study, the workers and engineering and technical personnel rate highly the importance of a favorable moral and psychological climate in the collective, believing at the same time that the real situation still does not conform to the desired situation. This attests to the need for the further improvement of political educational work and the formation of an active position of the individual in life.

The set of components forming the system of social relations and contacts within the labor collective influences the satisfaction with labor and forms the communist attitude toward it. The further change of the entire social makeup of the working class occurs on the basis of the change of the nature and content of labor--the level of education and culture, labor and public political activeness, material well-being increases.

In the past 15 years the educational structure of the working class has changed very significantly. Whereas in 1964 the majority of the surveyed workers (48.1 percent) had a seventh to eighth grade education, 38.7 percent had an eighth to ninth grade education, only 10.7 percent had a complete secondary education, 2.3 percent had a secondary specialized education and 0.4 percent had a higher and incomplete higher education, at the close of the 10th Five-Year Plan the proportion of workers not having a general secondary education declined from 87 to 52 percent, that is, by a factor of 1.7. The proportion of workers with a complete general secondary

education increased nearly threefold and comes to 29.3 percent, while the proportion of workers with a secondary specialized and higher education increased fourfold (11.3 percent).

Those having a higher and secondary specialized education are represented most extensively among highly skilled workers--their proportion in this group is 15 percent. The most intensive change of the educational structure of young workers should especially be noted. Among people up to the age of 30 the proportion not having a complete secondary education is 20 percent, while in older age groups it is equal to approximately 70 percent.

Among the reasons for increasing one's skills and education for all the surveyed workers the leading ones are: the desire to participate more knowledgeably in the discussion and solution of production problems (1st place); the interest in being not only today, but in the future at the level of the demands made by increasingly complicated technology (2d place); the orientation toward increasing one's prestige among fellow workers, friends and family members (3d place). The least important reasons were: the receipt of a skills certificate for the job already being performed and a transfer to a higher paying job.

The following facts also attest to the aspiration to increase the level of one's education and skills: of the total number of those studying without leave from work 22.4 percent are studying at evening school; 11.2 percent--at an evening or correspondence tekhnikum; 24.8 percent--at a correspondence or evening higher educational institution; 40 percent of the workers are improving their skills in courses. The presence in Gor'kiy and the oblast of an extensive network of secondary and higher educational institutions, as well as of a large number of tekhnikums directly at the plants explains the fact that even among workers of low skill (categories I and II) in Gor'kovskaya Oblast 28.6 percent are studying at evening tekhnikums and 17.1 percent are studying at evening higher educational institutions.

The increase of the labor and public political activeness of the working class, the increase of culture and the rational use of free time, the improvement of the material conditions of life and a number of others are related to the problem of the change of the social makeup and social development of the working class. However, these questions require a special analysis, which will be made during the further discussion of the data of the study.

The sociological studies being conducted in various regions of the country, and particularly at the enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast, show that a high rate of social development of the working class is typical of the present stage of the life of our society. The intensive change of its structure and social makeup is the main trend.

The further increase of the cultural, educational and skill level of the working class can be ensured and expedited by the intensive development of production, the accomplishment of the tasks of scientific and technical progress and its fundamental combination with the improvement of socialist social relations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Its preparation and conducting were carried out by the work group consisting of G. V. Osipov, V. F. Sbytov, V. G. Andreyenkov, G. M. Denisovskiy, P. M. Yerenburg and V. V. Kolbanovskiy.
2. See "SSSR v tsifrakh v 1979 g." [The USSR in Figures in 1979], Moscow, 1980, pp 17, 167.
3. See "Sotsial'noye razvitiye rabochego klassa SSSR" [The Social Development of the USSR Working Class], Moscow, 1977, pp 19, 20.
4. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1978], Moscow, 1979, p 368 (estimate of the authors).
5. "Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1971, p 73.
6. See L. A. Kostin, "Proizvoditel'nost' truda i tekhnicheskii progress" [Labor Productivity and Technical Progress], Moscow, 1974, p 197.
7. See "Rabochiy klass i tekhnicheskii progress" [The Working Class and Technical Progress], Moscow, 1965, pp 64, 65.

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## CONVERGENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE ENGINEERING AND TECHNICAL INTELLIGENTSIA

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[Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mikhail Nikolayevich Rutkevich, chief of the Chair of Marxism-Leninism of the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] The convergence of the intelligentsia and the working class has advanced the farthest in the sphere of physical production, and first of all in the relations between the industrial detachment of the working class and the engineering and technical personnel. Therefore the study of this aspect of the process of overcoming the differences between physical and mental labor is of interest, especially as it is a matter of social shifts in the decisive sphere of public life. The general traits of the process of development of the system of social relations at the stage of mature socialism--the increase of the fundamental integrity of the system and the increasing dynamism--are revealed most vividly here.

The fundamental integrity of the system of social relations means, first, that /the elements alien to this formation cease to exist in the form of modes of production/. In the sphere of industrial production the small-scale production of handicraftsmen and artisans, which played a very significant role in old Russia, was organized on cooperative lines by the mid-1930's. Subsequently, in the late 1950's cooperative industry was merged with state industry. Under present conditions individual labor activity (including in the sphere of handicraft, art and so on) is permitted by law, but its magnitude is such that it does not play any significant role in the development of socialist industry.

However, the fundamental integrity of the system of social class relations is not exhausted by what has been said. Second, and it is especially important to distinguish this feature, under the conditions of mature socialism /the convergence of the main social groups is being interconnected more and more closely with the overcoming of the social differences within them/, that is, between the social strata and detachments, of which they consist. In other words, the tendency for social homogeneity to increase permeates both interclass and intraclass relations.

The process of the convergence of the working class--this leading force of society--with the kolkhoz peasantry, employees and specialists is inseparable from the process of the increase of the homogeneity, the further consolidation of the



working class itself and the overcoming of the social differences between its strata and detachments. The social homogeneity of the working class under the conditions of mature socialism in the USSR is increasing in two respects. On the one hand, as a result of the overcoming of the social differences between the detachments of workers employed in the main sectors of social production and, on the other, the differences between the skill strata of the working class. The convergence of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry is inseparable from the process of the overcoming of the social differences between the agrarian detachment of the working class and its industrial nucleus on the basis of the industrialization of agricultural labor. The convergence of the working class with white-collar workers is inseparable from the convergence (with respect to all social indicators) of the detachment of the working class employed in services with its industrial nucleus, while the convergence of the working class with specialists, first of all the production intelligentsia, is inseparable from the convergence of the skill strata of the working class and the increase in it of the proportion of the stratum of highly skilled workers.

The growing dynamism of social class relations under the conditions of mature socialism finds expression in the fact that the overcoming of social differences and the convergence of the social groups and strata within them are being achieved on the basis of the overall increase of the education, skills, material and cultural level of the workers. Thus, the increase of the social homogeneity of the working class is being achieved not by the "averaging" of the existing skill, educational and cultural level of the strata and detachments belonging to it, but on the basis of the steady increase of these social indicators for the Soviet working class taken as a whole. Let us take as an example such a most important (and comparatively easily measured) indicator as the level of education (see Table 1).

Table 1

Level of Education of Workers in USSR Industry, Percent\*

Education	1952	1973	
		all ages	up to 30 years old
Higher, incomplete higher, secondary specialized	1.0	5.6	7.5
Complete secondary	1.4	24.1	43.0
Incomplete secondary	25.5	41.2	43.5
Elementary and those not having an elementary education	72.1	29.1	6.0

\* See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1973 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1973], Moscow, 1974, p. 589.

The increase of the educational level of the workers is picking up speed, which is obvious from the comparison of the indicators for workers as a whole and young workers (up to 30 years old). The implementation of a universal secondary education means that in the level of general education (a complete secondary education) the working class in the near future will be equal to such a mass stratum of the production intelligentsia as technicians.

The dynamism of the process in question is also governed by the increase of the rate of social shifts both within each given generation and between generations.<sup>1</sup> The transfer from some social groups and strata of Soviet society to others is made easier as the social distances between them decrease. At the same time, the more massive these shifts are, the more significant their role is in the real surmounting of social differences. At present more than half of the students of higher educational institutions, who are studying without leave from worker, are workers, kolkhoz farmers and their children. The social structure of the student body, that is, the future specialists, reflects more and more adequately the social structure of society.

The data of the sociological study conducted at a number of enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast in 1979 are very significant for characterizing the social shifts within a generation: half of the engineering and technical personnel of these enterprises began their labor activity as workers. Another version of social shifts, of course, is also quite natural--between generations, when the children from working class families immediately after school enroll in tekhnikums and higher educational institutions in order to begin their labor activity after a few years immediately as specialists. In this respect as well the data of the same study concerning the educational level of the parents of certified engineering and technical personnel are very convincing: the fathers of 68.1 percent had up to an eighth grade education, 7.8 percent--a ninth to tenth grade education, and only 24.1 percent are descendents of specialists.

The role of such a source as the families of employees and specialists is also increasing in the reinforcement of the working class in the most industrialized regions of the country. According to studies of the mid-1970's in Moscow Oblast and Chelyabinsk one-fourth of the young reinforcement of the working class came from such families.<sup>2</sup>

The increase of the dynamism of the system of social class relations as a whole and of the section of it in question--the convergence of the industrial nucleus of the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia--later will be shown in the three main directions which correspond to the main social class attributes in Lenin's well-known definition of classes.

Beginning this definition with a general thesis on classes as large groups of people who are distinguished according to their place in a historically specific system of social production, Lenin defines it specifically with respect to the three elements of production relations: the attitude toward the means of production; the role in the social organization of labor; the means of obtaining and the amounts of that share of the public wealth which the classes have.<sup>3</sup> Lenin's definition indicates the differences of classes according to /socio-economic/ attributes. For him it stands to reason that the base determines the superstructure, that socio-economic differences are reflected and continued in sociopolitical and sociocultural, ideological and sociopsychological differences. Accordingly the definition of social differences under socialism should not only be examined in the area of economics, but should cover all aspects of the way of life. Here we will dwell only on the processes of the convergence of workers and engineering and technical personnel in the socio-economic sphere, by using the data of studies of the mid-1960's and late 1970's for such a typical industrial region for the USSR as Gor'kovskaya Oblast.

The convergence of classes, social groups and the strata and detachments of workers /with respect to their attitude toward the means of production/ finds expression first of all in the convergence of national and kolkhoz property on the basis of the increase of the level of socialization of production, the development of specialization and cooperation in agriculture. The broadening of the economic ties of kolkhozes with state enterprises and with each other at the present stage finds expression in the rapid development of interkolkhoz, kolkhoz-sovkhoz and other farm associations in the countryside. The social significance of this process is as follows: a marginal social stratum of workers who base their labor on a mixed form of ownership arises, while the bulk of the kolkhoz farmers draw even closer to the workers of sovkhozes as the detachment of the working class which is closest to them in working and living conditions. At the same time the process of the convergence of specialists who are kolkhoz members (600,000 people in 1979) with the production intelligentsia, who are employed at state agricultural enterprises, and later with the bulk of the Soviet intelligentsia, who base their labor on public ownership and in this respect no longer differ from the working class, is intensified.

It should be noted that the process of the increase of social equality with respect to the means of production is also taking place within the national sector of the economy, first of all the leading sector--industry. Production and scientific production associations, the creation of which promotes an increase of labor productivity by means of the specialization of the enterprises belonging to the association, their cooperation and the strengthening of the relations of production with science, are acquiring greater and greater economic and social importance. The appearance and development of economic associations are conducive to the consolidation of the working class, the bringing up according to the cultural and technical level, skills and labor discipline of the workers, employees and specialists of small enterprises (where, as a rule, the level of the organization of labor and its technical equipment is lower) to the level of the personnel of large enterprises.

The increase of social equality also finds expression in the broadening of the participation of workers in the management of enterprises. According to the data of the 1979 study, at the enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast about 40 percent of the workers perform permanent public assignments, moreover, 17 percent of the workers perform temporary public assignments. Among the engineering and technical personnel 82.7 percent of those surveyed perform public assignments. Practically all workers take part in such forms of management as participation in brigade, shop, departmental and other production conferences and trade union meetings. A direct relationship is found between the level of skills, the nature of labor and participation in public political activity. As is known, party members participate most actively in all public political life, including the management of the affairs of the labor collective, since the party organization of the enterprise (and of its structural subdivisions) is granted the right to monitor the activity of the administration. At the surveyed enterprises among workers of low skill CPSU members make up 7 percent, among workers of high skill--16.7 percent, among engineering and technical personnel--33.5 percent.

The importance of the convergence of classes, social groups, the strata and detachments of workers /with respect to their role in the social organization of labor/,

which is determined by their place in the system of the social division of labor and thereby by the nature of the labor of these groups, strata and detachments, increases as the differences between the two forms of socialist ownership are overcome. In the process of the convergence of workers and engineering and technical personnel under present conditions decisive importance belongs to the changes in the nature and content of labor, which are caused by scientific and technical progress and the introduction of its achievements in production.

The scientific and technical revolution dictates the need for the intellectualization of labor in the production sphere. Science is transformed via equipment and technology into a direct productive force. The nature of labor changes, new equipment requires an increasing amount of general and specialized knowledge from the majority of workers. The process of saturating physical labor with intellectual functions is displayed to the greatest extent at the enterprises and in the sectors, in which the rate of technical progress is faster. Newer and newer occupational groups of workers, who operate complex equipment and whose labor already today either is primarily physical with a high proportion of mental efforts or is becoming mainly mental labor, since the operation of complex units as well as the installation, adjustment and repair of modern equipment require substantial technical and scientific knowledge, on the basis of which practical skills are formed, are becoming a part of the Soviet working class.

That is why, in our opinion, the definition of the working class under socialism as "the group of people of primarily physical labor in the national economy" today can no longer be recognized as adequate, since it does not completely take into account the changes occurring in the nature and content of the labor of the leading stratum of the working class. When the functions of monitoring automatic equipment and operating units by means of instruments become the main functions, in the content of labor mental efforts predominate, moreover, this is not stereotypic, but creative mental labor, since it is necessary to make nonstandard decisions. The process of the convergence of physical and mental labor in the labor activity of this stratum of workers has gone so far that in this case, we presume, it is already legitimate to speak about their fundamental unity. This stratum of the working class, which in Soviet sociological literature in the early 1960's acquired the designation "worker-intellectuals," displays a tendency to grow rapidly, especially in the most advanced sectors of industry with respect to technical equipment.

The term "worker-intellectual" has become quite widespread, but at times still encounters objections in scientific literature. Some scientists, while recognizing the fact of the appearance among of workers of production workers of a new type, nevertheless cast doubt on the existence of strata within the present Soviet working class and particularly the appearance of a new stratum which borders on the engineering and technical personnel. At the same time it is not taken into account that the unity of the working class (just as the unity of the intelligentsia and of the kolkhoz peasantry) does not mean the absence of gradations within it, including between the skill strata. As for the stratum of the working class which borders on the engineering and technical intelligentsia, its appearance is precisely an indication of the fact that the process of convergence between them has advanced far. This is truly a new phenomenon which was caused by the scientific and technical revolution under the conditions of socialism.



The stratum of worker-intellectuals actually combines the traits of the working class with certain traits of specialists. The attraction of specialists with diplomas to workplaces is dictated first of all by the fact that with respect to technical conditions the performance of many jobs today requires a knowledge on the scale stipulated by the tekhnikum, and at times by the higher educational institution. The possession of a diploma in itself, of course, cannot be regarded as a social criterion. Those workers with the diploma of a technical specialist, who perform a job which does not require the given level of training (and this is a negative phenomenon, if we do not count the temporary probationary work of young specialists, but about that later), can hardly be ranked in the stratum of worker-intellectuals, except in potential. At the same time many workers with an adequate level of general education in the process of on-the-job training (courses and so on) and as a result of the gaining of practical experience operate complex equipment which requires at the workplace, according to the manning table, a specialist with a secondary specialized education, and they, in our opinion, belong to the indicated stratum.

The determination of the size of the stratum of worker-intellectuals and the evaluation of its dynamics and its growth should be approached with allowance made for the stated circumstances. On 15 November 1977 114,000 people with a higher education and 1,314,000 people with a secondary specialized education were employed at workplaces in USSR industry. This is already a significant portion of the total number of engineering and technical personnel. If we take the total number of technicians to be 100 percent, 34.1 percent of the technicians were employed at workplaces, that is, one out of three (engineers--5.2 percent). But in such technically advanced sectors of industry as the chemical and petrochemical sectors, electric power engineering, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy now every other technician is employed at a workplace, that is, operates complex equipment, is a worker and at the same time a specialist. It should be emphasized with all certainty that with respect to its social status this is first of all /a stratum of the working class/, for the workmen belonging to it, like all workers, directly operate means of labor and by means of them change the object of labor, produce physical assets. But at the same time they are also certified specialists who with respect to the level of general and technical knowledge do not differ from the engineering and technical personnel employed in managerial positions and in departments. In the growth of this marginal stratum it is impossible not to detect the beginning of the future merging of physical and mental labor in the sphere of physical production. "The closer we are to communism, the more fundamental the connection between physical and mental labor will be," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized. "Even now a worker often operates such large and complicated sets of equipment, which previously not every engineer was able to handle."<sup>4</sup>

The other pole of the process in question is /the gradual elimination of the stratum of workers of unskilled and low skilled labor/, which is farthest from the production intelligentsia with respect to the nature and content of labor and all social indicators.

The elimination of the stratum of workers, who are engaged in unskilled manual labor (especially difficult labor, under unhealthy conditions), this legacy of capitalism, which even in the most developed countries in the late 20th century cannot do without the enlistment of a significant amount of unskilled labor, is one of the

most important tasks of the social policy of the CPSU at the present stage. In our country its solution was especially difficult owing to the technical and economic backwardness of old Russia. Much has already been done, but even today the problem of eliminating unskilled labor is urgent. The replacement of workplaces not only of unskilled manual labor, but also of a number of types of labor at machines and machinery (for example, on the conveyor, of machine operators and so on) is confronted with serious difficulties. The situation is being exacerbated by the fact that in the majority of regions of the country (including the Volga-Vyatka region) such sources for drawing manpower resources into industry and construction as the surpluses of the population in the countryside and nonworking city dwellers of able-bodied age have practically been exhausted. During the 1980's the influx of young people into the national economy will decrease, and therefore the problem of replacing workplaces of unskilled labor (as well as labor with stereotypic operations) will become more complicated. Under the conditions of the accomplishment of a universal secondary education young people in their plans for organizing their life are directing their attention to an increasing extent to socially more attractive occupations.

If we assume that workers of categories I and II (as well as workers not having a category) are engaged in low skilled labor, workers of categories III and IV--in labor of intermediate skill and workers of categories V and VI--in highly skilled labor, the proportion of the indicated stratum in USSR industry is approximately 26.3 percent.<sup>5</sup> In many sectors and at many enterprises this percentage is even higher. For example, in 1978 (according to the data of the study at the Krasnaya Etna Plant) it was 25.5 percent, at the glass plant in Gor'kiy it was 39.7 percent, at the paper combine in Balakhna it was 34 percent. In using these data, in our opinion, it is necessary to take into account, first, the disparity in the awarding of categories by sectors and, second, the discrepancy between the awarded category and the operations actually being performed. At the studied enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast the correlation of the proportion of workers of categories I and II and the workplaces of the corresponding skill was 20 and 34.8 percent, the proportion of workers of categories V and VI--28 and 15.8 percent. We have an obvious overstatement of the categories, which enables the administration to pay for unskilled labor at higher rates.

Ways to solve the problem were indicated by the 25th CPSU Congress. They are first of all the implementation of a comprehensive program of the mechanization and automation of production, the accelerated introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in production. But I would also like to direct attention to the large social reserves available at every enterprise. It is a matter of improving the organization of labor and production on the basis of the adoption of cost accounting. The need for workers of low skill is decreasing sharply in the brigades which have been converted to the economic contract with payment according to the end result of the labor (and which meet the conditions of the economic contract). Such, for example, is the experience of the Sverdlovsk construction workers, which has been covered extensively in the press.<sup>6</sup> Its universal dissemination is necessary, since in construction the proportion of manual labor without the use of machines and machinery is greater than in industry. In construction 200,000 people work with only a shovel.<sup>7</sup>

The decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the economic mechanism, which were adopted in 1979, aim at the universal adoption of brigade cost accounting during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

At the level of shops, enterprises and associations the social reserves are also significant. The experience of the Shchekino Azot Association attests to the extensive opportunities to reduce the need for unskilled labor by means of the improvement of the organization of production and the additional training of workers in related occupations.

Thus, the change in the internal social structure of the working class is inseparable from its convergence with the production intelligentsia. The intellectualization of physical labor on the social level means the growth of the stratum of workers of high skill, including the stratum of worker-intellectuals, which borders on the engineering and technical personnel, and at the same time the gradual elimination of the stratum of unskilled and low skilled workers who are engaged first of all in difficult manual labor.

At the same time as the intellectualization of physical labor as a result of the introduction of automated control systems and office machinery the scale of the technicalization of the mental labor of various groups of engineering and technical personnel and production managers is increasing. This trend is especially perceptible in the plant sector of science, in experimental production, in the scientific research subdivisions of enterprises and associations and at planning organizations. In the activity of many categories of specialists mental labor on the development and introduction of new equipment requires the acquisition of practical skills for its operation. The introduction of equipment also increases the proportion of skilled physical labor in the activity of instructors, physicians, economists and many other categories of specialists, as well as trade workers and office employees.

Thus, scientific and technical progress governs the dual nature of the process of the convergence of the industrial nucleus of the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia and later of all workers of physical and mental labor in general. But it is a lengthy process. V. I. Lenin foresaw that the intelligentsia "will remain a special stratum until the achievement of the highest degree of development of communist society."<sup>8</sup>

The convergence of classes and social groups, of the strata and detachments belonging to them in the sphere of distribution is also being expedited on the basis of convergence with respect to the attitude toward the means of production and the role in the public organization of labor. Our task here does not include the examination of the differences between the members of kolkhozes and other social groups with respect to the means of obtaining income or to its amount. Let us merely note that the introduction in the 1960's of a guaranteed minimum monthly monetary wage and social security at kolkhozes was of decisive importance for the convergence of kolkhoz farmers with workers and employees with respect to wages.

Labor is the main source of income under socialism. The principle of distribution of socialism--according to labor, depending on the quantity and quality of the latter--is set down in the 1977 USSR Constitution (Article 40). More complicated, more skilled labor, as well as labor under adverse conditions, which requires a greater nervous strain and responsibility and so on, receives better pay. The stimulating role of wages depends directly and immediately on how correctly, skillfully and flexibly this principle is realized.

What is the ratio of the wages of the main categories of workers of industry, what are the trends of change in this area?

The average wage of engineering and technical personnel in industry before the war exceeded by more than twofold the average wage of a worker, now it exceeds it by only 18 percent (see Table 2). If we take into account that supervisory managerial personnel are also included among the engineering and technical personnel, while among the workers the group of low skilled easy labor, which is paid substantially less than skilled or difficult labor, is significant, the conclusion is obvious: the wage of rank and file engineers and technicians is now approximately at the level of the wage of highly skilled workers, and at times less than the latter.

Table 2

Average Monthly Monetary Wage of Workers, Engineering and Technical Personnel and Employees in Industry (Industrial Personnel Engaged Directly in Production), Rubles/Percent\*

Category	1940	1965	1975	1978
Workers	32.4/100	101.7/100	160.9/100	176.1/100
Engineering and technical personnel	69.6/215	148.4/146	199.2/124	208.4/118
Employees	36.0/111	85.8/84	131.3/82	142.7/81

\* See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1978], Moscow, 1979, p 372.

The effect of another significant factor which is conducive to the equalization of the actual incomes of workers and specialists should also be borne in mind--it is the payments and benefits from public consumption funds. In 1978 the average monetary wage of workers and employees in the USSR was 160 rubles a month, while with the addition of payments and benefits from public consumption funds it was 219 rubles, that is, the latter accounted for 26.9 percent of the total wage. For workers of industry these figures were respectively 176 and 243 rubles, the proportion of public consumption funds was 27.5 percent.<sup>9</sup>

A portion of the payments and benefits from public consumption funds is proportionate to the wage (pay for temporary disability, retirement security), a portion does not depend on the latter (expenditures for health care, education, the supplementary payment to institutions of culture and so on). As a whole the increase of public consumption funds promotes an increase of social equality, including among the groups of workers we are examining here.

A number of factors, first of all the increase of the skills of the working class, find expression in the movement of our society toward social equality. The wage of employees is now lower than that of workers, since today, given approximately the same level of skills, the expenditures of energy by employees are less and the working conditions are easier. But the formed situation in the ratio of the wage of engineering and technical personnel and workers has certain negative consequences. The incentives to increase one's skills by the continuation of studies at a tekhnikum or higher educational institution (with and without leave from work) are decreasing, while many workers who have received the diploma of a technician (or even



an engineer) refuse to be transferred to positions of engineering and technical personnel out of economic considerations.

When worker-intellectuals were discussed above, we emphasized the progressive nature of the formation and broadening of this stratum of the working class. However, the data of the statistics on the number of specialists at workplaces should be used cautiously. Some of these specialists have diplomas of teachers, nurses and agronomists and are not working in their specialty. In 1977 in USSR industry among the people with a secondary specialized education, who were employed at workplaces, 18 percent had diplomas of a nontechnical specialization. But even among technicians far from all of them were also engaged in labor requiring this level of training. Approximately 10 percent worked at workplaces due to the lack of vacancies for engineering and technical personnel, 20 percent did so out of economic considerations.

Such a reason as "the lack of vacancies" attests to certain deficiencies in the planning of the reinforcement of industry with specialists. In the same year of 1977 one-sixth of the positions of engineering and technical personnel were held by "experienced workers," that is, people without a specialized education. But the fact that many technicians are in engineering positions is also not taken into account in these figures. According to the 1970 census, only 53 percent of the people holding positions of engineers had a complete higher education, 37.4 percent had a secondary specialized education, 6.6 percent had a general secondary education, remainder did not even have that.<sup>10</sup> Unquestionably, during the Ninth and 10th Five-Year Plans the situation improved, but the problem has not been completely solved. Even among managers of industrial enterprises in 1977 only two-thirds had a higher education--and this is under conditions when more than 4.7 million engineering and technical personnel are employed in industry. The number of engineers graduated (only by higher educational institutions which train specialists for industry, construction, transportation and communications) in 1977 was 316,500, technicians (also only for the indicated categories)--547,400.<sup>11</sup> During the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan more than 4 million young specialists reinforced the army of engineering and technical personnel (not counting agriculture). Consequently, it is not necessary to speak about a shortage of engineering and technical personnel as a whole.

In our opinion, the need has arisen to take certain steps on improving the use of engineering and technical personnel at enterprises. Specialists with a technical education are in fact not required in many staff positions, which are now designated as positions of engineers and technicians; consequently, it is necessary to improve the manning tables. The time has come when the positions of engineers (as well as physicians, lawyers, teachers, scientists and so on) can and should be filled only by certified specialists. The changeover to the new procedure of filling positions can be carried out gradually.

Objectively the status of an engineer (and in part of a technician as well) is somewhat depreciated, which is reflected in such indicators widely used in sociological research as job satisfaction (satisfaction with the content of labor, its conditions), the relations in the collective and living conditions as a whole. During the mentioned study in Gor'kovskaya Oblast the following average index of the satisfaction with labor was revealed: among workers--71.6 percent of all those surveyed, among engineering and technical personnel--66.6 percent, that is,

slightly less. The results of the survey on "satisfaction with life" yielded similar results (see Table 3).

Table 3

Self-Appraisal of the "Satisfaction With Life" Among Workers and Engineering and Technical Personnel of Enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast, Percent

Category	Satisfied	Not satisfied
Workers	68.5	9.3
of them		
categories I and II	67.3	10.0
categories III and IV	66.5	10.4
categories V and VI	71.6	7.5
Engineering and technical personnel	55.0	10.2*

\*The total is less than 100 percent, since only the polar items are cited.

The conditionality of the indicators of the self-appraisal is unquestionable. But the shortcomings in the placement and use of engineering and technical personnel in industry find a certain reflection in them. The colossal potential of the growing army of engineers and technicians (166 engineering and technical personnel per 1,000 workers in industry in 1977) should be utilized to the utmost in the interests of increasing production efficiency.

Thus, the convergence of the industrial nucleus of the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia is taking place and will continue not by means of a decrease of the demands on the level of the engineering and technical intelligentsia. On the contrary, it requires an increase of the level of training of engineers and technicians, an increase of the prestige of engineering and technical personnel, but with an even more rapid increase of the cultural and technical level of the entire working class, the change of its internal structure, the steady increase within it of the proportion of highly skilled workers. L. I. Brezhnev said about the Soviet working class as a whole that "it is tens of millions of educated, technically competent, politically mature people. Their labor is approaching more and more the labor of engineering and technical personnel."<sup>12</sup>

The convergence of the working class and the engineering and technical personnel in industry, the technically most advanced field of the national economy, is that section of the process of overcoming the significant difference between physical and mental labor, in which it is occurring most intensively, governing the pace of the solution of this historical problem as a whole.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. We have examined this question more than once. See M. N. Rutkevich, F. R. Filippov, "Sotsial'nyye peremeshcheniya" /Social Shifts/, Moscow, 1970; "Sotsial'naya struktura razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva v SSSR" /The Social Structure of the Developed Socialist Society in the USSR/, Moscow, 1976, Chapter V; M. N. Rutkevich, "The Soviet Intelligentsia as a Research Subject of Bourgeois Sociology," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1980.

2. See "Sotsial'naya struktura razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva v SSSR," p 183.
3. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 39, p 15.
4. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, p 223.
5. See VESTNIK STATISTIKI, No 6, 1980, p 63.
6. See, for example, Yu. Petrov, "The Brigade Contract and the Development of the Movement Under the Motto 'The Five-Year Assignment With a Smaller Staff'," PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', No 13, 1980.
7. L. Bobylev, "Time to Retire the Shovel," PRAVDA, 16 July 1980.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, p 351
9. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978," p 378.
10. See "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g." [Results of the 1970 All-Union Census], Vol VI, Moscow, 1973, p 629. The data of the 1979 ceasus on this item have not yet been published.
11. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977 g." [The USSR National Economy in 1977], Moscow, 1978, p 505.
12. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 6, Moscow, 1976, p 375.

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## THE UNITY OF ORGANIZATIONAL, ECONOMIC AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN LABOR COLLECTIVES

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/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Zhan Terent'yevich Toshchenko, chief of the Chair of Ideological Work of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee/

/Text/ The scientific control of social processes is aimed at the accomplishment of the strategic goals of the party--the increase of production efficiency, the fulfillment of the requirements of social policy and the strengthening of the ideological and political unity of the Soviet people. The improvement of the economic mechanism and the stepping up of ideological and political educational work--such are the most important organizational and political tasks which were advanced by the party on the threshold of the 26th CPSU Congress.

At the present stage of the building of communism the comprehensive approach in the control of social processes, the basis of which is the unity of organizational, economic and ideological work, is acquiring special significance.<sup>1</sup> The comprehensive approach presumes the study of the forms and methods of the influence on the social system of various objective and subjective factors.

The sociological study conducted by the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee jointly with the Gor'kovskaya Oblast Committee and the Gor'kiy Higher Party School in March 1980 at the Medical Instrument Plant imeni V. I. Lenin (Vorsma of Gor'kovskaya Oblast), the motor vehicle spare parts plant, the municipal machine building plant and the Instrument Making Plant imeni 50-letiya SSSR (Arzamas of Gor'kovskaya Oblast) was devoted to the study of the unity of organizational, economic and ideological work in the production collective. In all 1,114 workers, engineering and technical personnel and employees, 360 leaders of production and executives of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations were surveyed.

Let us dwell on some basic theoretical assumptions of the program of the study.

/Organizational work/ /in italics/ includes three elements: the organization of production, labor and management.<sup>2</sup> At the empirical level the organizational activity was determined by studying the opinion of the respondents on their participation in socialist competition and community work; on the state of labor discipline, thrift and economy at the enterprise, as well as by means of the evaluation of the

efficiency of their labor and the opportunity to participate in the solution of problems of the development of their production collective. The opinion of managers on organizing work<sup>3</sup> was established by studying the implementation of decisions on the operation of the works, on the rights of the collective in the use of the funds of the enterprise, which are formed from the profit, and on the efficiency of the activity of the management staff. These data were compared with the corresponding objective indicators.

Economic activity was interpreted by us as concern about not only the economic, but also the social development of the collective, including the training of its members. The opinion of workers on the fulfillment of the production plan, the operating efficiency of the enterprise, the prospects of its development, the problems of improving the economic mechanism and so on was established in conformity with this. The received responses were compared with the objective indicators of the economic activity of the enterprises.

In analyzing the state of /ideological work/ [*in italics*] we proceeded on the basis that it is not limited to questions of training. The opinion of the respondents on the attractiveness of the job being performed was studied, we were interested in whether they felt pride in the high quality of the products being produced, what means of ideological influence help them in work, what their assessment of the relations in the collective is and so forth. Among production managers their satisfaction with the work of the collective, how they assess the effectiveness of the plans of social development and in what they see the shortcomings of the ideological and educational work at the enterprise were established.

The establishment of the opinion of managers on the conformity of the types of operations to the level of the economic and social tasks facing the given collectives, as well as the determination of the directions of the improvement of organizational, economic and ideological activity were an important factor. It must be recalled that in any social process all the directions of activity being studied are closely interwoven. For example, when asserting that the fulfillment of the plan is an important indicator of economic activity, a certain influence of organizational and ideological work on this process should also be taken into account.

The true unity of organizational, economic and ideological work can be achieved owing to the precise fulfillment of the tasks facing each of these directions, with their coordination and interrelation. The study showed that each of the components making up this unity still requires considerable improvement. The managers were asked the question: "To what extent, in your opinion, does the organizational, economic and ideological work at the enterprise correspond to the level of the economic and social tasks facing your collective?" The responses were distributed in the following manner (see Table 1).

In the opinion of those surveyed, the arrangement of organizational work satisfies them least of all. In our opinion, this is entirely justified. The instructions of the party on the need to ensure the effective introduction of scientific and technical achievements in the national economy and to search for new forms of the organization of labor and wages attest to the special attention now being devoted to organizational questions, on the solution of which further gains in all areas of social life depend to a certain extent.



Table 1

**Assessment of the Effectiveness of Organizational, Economic and Ideological Work, Percent of Those Surveyed**

Type of work	Corresponds	Does not fully correspond	Does not correspond	Hard to answer
Organizational	22	52	17	9
Economic	24	53	12	11
Ideological	27	46	10	17

Reviewing the state of the economic and social development of the country, at the November (1979) CPSU Central Committee Plenum L. I. Brezhnev noted that for further successful progress "it is necessary to create an atmosphere of great exactingness, good organization, a creative attitude toward the matter in all sectors of the national economy, in each production unit.... It is the duty of all party and management executives to improve the style and methods of work in the spirit of the fundamental instructions of the party."<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, given the comparatively high rating of ideological work, the large number of those who refrained from answering attracts attention (see Table 1). Apparently, this attests to the fact that not all managers are engaged in ideological activity, considering it the prerogative of specially authorized people and organizations. Not by accident do 76.1 percent of the managers believe that the production activity of their collectives inadequately ensures the achievement of the goals of education. It is interesting to note that no significant differences were found in the position of economic managers and public organizations on this issue.

The difference in the assessments of these directions of activity is connected with the inadequate coordination of the goals and the means of achieving them in the production collective.

The interconnection of organizational, economic and ideological tasks also stems from the requirements of the present stage of the development of socialist society. Practical experience shows that the ignoring of ideological directives when solving economic problems leads to narrow practicality, a utilitarian attitude, and at times to self-seeking sentiments; in turn, the ignoring of economic relations entails superficiality and dogmatism and does serious production and moral harm.

The demand to take ideological directives into account when determining the indicators and prospects of economic and social development does not belittle the importance of the objectively prevailing mechanism of economic development, but merely emphasizes the need to consider how social relations, being reflected in the consciousness of people, influence their behavior and accordingly the results of activity in all sphere of social life.

The implementation of the economic policy of the party, which is aimed at further increasing the economic independence of enterprises, today already requires the adoption of the appropriate organizational, sociopolitical and educational measures. But here there are a number of unsolved questions which are checking the initiative of production collectives. First of all the fact that 54 percent of the managers

we surveyed indicated the complete or partial nonfulfillment by their collectives of the decrees of superior organs attracts attention. Moreover, 35 percent of the managers replied that production decisions were made even when from the very start it was clear that they would not be fulfilled. This situation, in our opinion, is explained by the lack of the proper scientific substantiation of the decisions being made. "...Nothing disenchant people as much as cases of ill-considered decisions, bungling or red tape of some workers..." It was noted at the 24th CPSU Congress.<sup>5</sup> It is no less important that the unity of the interests of production collectives and society is not always ensured. The lack of rights when using the funds of the enterprise, which are formed from the profit, was indicated by 69 percent of the managers. The absence of a scientific approach and utilitarianism are frequently combined with the reluctance or inability to evaluate thoroughly the consequences of the economic and social measures being implemented, which, not being coordinated with the motives, behavior, interests and needs of people, are ineffective.

In ensuring the unity of organizational, economic and ideological work it should be recalled that the development of production to a considerable extent is subordinate to the task of creating the best conditions for work. During the survey the respondents were invited to specify their attitude toward various factors which hinder work (see Table 2).

Table 2

Indicate What You Do Not Like at Work, Percent of Those Surveyed			
Shortcomings in the organization of labor	Workers	Engineering and technical personnel	Employees
Lack of independence, impossibility of displaying initiative	3.7	4.3	5.8
Lack of conditions for improving skills	7.2	4.8	4.4
Lack of concern of administration about interests of workers	17.3	20.8	22.1
Poor relations with fellow workers	2.9	2.2	1.5
Low wages	16.7	18.2	20.6
Lack of a future in the job	2.1	3.0	4.4
Poor organization of labor	8.9	14.7	4.4
Poor working conditions	10.3	11.3	8.8
Remoteness from place of residence	9.4	5.6	10.3
Other factors	3.1	3.9	5.9
Refrained from answering	18.4	11.2	11.8

These data characterize a certain unanimity of those surveyed when evaluating production conditions. The respondents first of all were dissatisfied with the lack of attention on the part of the administration to the needs of the workers, as well as with wages, the organization of labor and working conditions.

The present level of social production requires the maximum coordination of the interests of the worker with the interests of the labor collective and society. The question of the need to worry about the interests of the worker not only in the process of his labor activity, but also in all other spheres of life is becoming

particularly pressing. This is especially urgent as the production collective is now meeting to a greater and greater extent the needs of people not only for labor, but also for housing, recreation and so on.

The improvement of wages, the organization of labor and working conditions is of no less importance. The dissatisfaction with wages among the workers of the enterprises being examined is connected with the inadequate dissemination of the brigade forms of the organization of labor and with the ineffective use of the production potential. In the opinion of the managers, technical sound norms have been established and questions of the intensification of labor on the basis of the introduction of new equipment and technology have been completely solved at far from all enterprises. An especially important role here belongs to organizational work. In our opinion, the production collectives, in which the scientific organization of labor and good working conditions are present, in which there are opportunities for the display of the creative talents of workers, should be encouraged and supported to a greater extent.

An important factor attesting to the unity of economic, organizational and ideological work is the participation of workers in management. In comparison with the 1920's, when the proportion of workers participating in management was 3.3 percent of the total number of those employed in industry,<sup>6</sup> significant changes have occurred: in the best collectives at this time this indicator comes to approximately 60-65 percent. At the enterprises we examined one out of three respondents performs various public assignments. However, in itself involvement in public life is not yet an indicator of the fact that an effective combination of the administrative and public principles in management has been achieved, the unity of one-man management and collective leadership has been ensured.

During the study a quite significant discrepancy between participation in public life and the possibility of influencing the affairs of one's collective was noted (see Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3

Participation in the Fulfillment of Public Assignments,  
Percent of Those Surveyed

Participation in community work	Workers	Engineering and technical personnel	Employees
Regularly fulfill public assignments	21.1	27.3	20.0
Fulfill temporary assignments	10.0	12.9	17.8
Do not participate in community work	52.6	43.9	57.8
Did not respond	16.3	15.9	4.4

The comparison of the data of Tables 3 and 4 shows that there is some discrepancy between actual participation in community work and the awareness of oneself as the master of production. The possibility of influencing the affairs of their collective was rated higher by the respondents than participation in public life. This once again emphasizes that it is impossible, as is now done in some studies, to consider community work a sound expression of the participation of workers in the management of the affairs of society and production. We have the right to assert

that it is possible indirectly to influence the affairs of one's collective by taking part in meetings, forming public opinion and making suggestions on the implementation of the necessary measures in the collective. It is not ruled out that some respondents when answering had in mind not the collective of the entire plant, but a brigade, shift, shop, section.

Table 4

Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Participation in the Management of the Affairs of the Collective, Percent of Those Surveyed

"Do you believe that you can influence the solution of questions of the development of your collective?"	Workers	Engineering and technical personnel	Employees
Yes	16.4	28.5	17.5
Not always	19.7	39.2	15.0
Essentially cannot	16.5	14.6	25.0
Hard to answer	47.4	17.7	42.5

The organization of socialist competition at the enterprises being examined was rated quite highly: more than 82 percent of those surveyed consider themselves as participants in the adoption of specific obligations, in the competition for the best in an occupation and in the drive for the title of member of a brigade of communist labor. However, only 61.8 percent of the workers, 42.1 percent of the engineering and technical personnel and 32.5 percent of the employees considered the organization of such competition to be good and satisfactory.

I would like to direct particular attention to the various forms of public activity when solving organizational, economic and ideological questions. The study showed the least number of those surveyed (only about 1 percent) fulfill regular assignments of an organizational nature: they take part in the organization of competition and introduce new forms of the organization of labor and production. About 2.5 percent fulfill assignments connected with the improvement of economic activity; the same percentage of workers have assignments of an ideological nature.

The results of the study show that the participation of workers in the management of the affairs of their collective differs substantially by the types of work being performed. Thus, 34.1 percent of those surveyed took part in the drafting of counterplans and socialist obligations. Approximately the same number stated that they participated in the drafting of the plan of social development of the collective. At the same time the opinion of only 2.7 percent of the workers is taken into account when distributing funds, the opinion of only 7.2 percent is taken into account when revising the output norms.

The poor enlistment of workers in organizing activity is disturbing. Of the total number of members and candidate members of the CPSU, who have regular public assignments, 7.7 percent are engaged in management in the sphere of production, 15.4 percent--in ideological work and 3.8 percent--in organizing work. Among Komsomol members and nonparty people there are even fewer of them--respectively 0.2 and 1 percent perform organizing functions. As in the past many problems are traditionally



considered the jurisdiction of the administration and are not discussed collectively. This had the result that 53.9 percent of the workers believe that organizational and economic problems are not always justly resolved in their collectives, 72 percent are discontent with the solution of everyday problems. The ideological support of economic and organizational measures is of great importance in the efficient functioning of the production collective and in rational socio-economic development. "The course of the economic, sociopolitical and cultural development of the country and the complete realization of the potentials of mature socialism depend more and more on the achievements of ideological and political educational work...."<sup>7</sup> Precisely this aspect of the activity of production collectives requires the utmost improvement. Only 16 percent of the managers surveyed considered the plan of the social development of their collective to be effective and efficient, while 32 percent believe that at present it does not deserve such a high rating.

At present among the means which prompt people to activeness, those connected with ideological influence on the will and consciousness of the worker, his understanding of the tasks facing the collective are playing a greater and greater role. It is not administrative measures, but the cultivation of conviction that prompts workers to take an active part in the solution of problems of economic development.

The promotion of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the improvement of the activity of labor collectives is of fundamental importance. Meanwhile practical experience shows that not all the reserves and potentials have yet been fully utilized. To the question: "Are you acquainted with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU 'On the Tightening Up of Labor Discipline and the Reduction of the Turnover of Personnel in the National Economy'?"<sup>8</sup> only 34 percent of the workers, 47 percent of the engineering and technical personnel and 33.3 percent of the employees responded affirmatively. In all 27.1 percent of the workers, 14.4 percent of the engineering and technical personnel and 20.5 percent of the employees admitted that they knew the contents of the document poorly and did not respond to the question. In this connection it is interesting to compare the state of labor discipline at the enterprise and its assessment by the workers. The analysis showed that only 48.2 percent of the workers, 26.9 percent of the engineering and technical personnel and 38.5 percent of the employees consider the state of labor discipline to be good, respectively 4.5, 16.9 and 5.1 percent of those surveyed consider it to be bad.

Among the forms of ideological influence discussions and political information sessions, in the estimate of those surveyed, held first place, interpersonal relations and unofficial channels held second place, lectures—third place, then plant broadcasting, the large-circulation press and wall newspapers. In our opinion, particular attention should be directed to the more purposeful utilization of channels of interpersonal relations.

Collectivism and comradeship are an enormous social value which was formed by the socialist way of life. The study showed that as a whole those surveyed are satisfied with these relations (see Table 5).

The assurance of the unity of organizational, economic and ideological work is an important reserve in the improvement of the scientific management of the production collective. This direction can with every reason be grouped with the tasks which have to be discussed during the pregress period and at the 26th party congress.<sup>9</sup>



Table 5

## Assessment of Relations in the Collective, Percent of Those Surveyed

"How do you assess the relations which have formed in your collective?"	Workers	Engineering and technical personnel	Employees
Good, friendly	20.9	8.8	30.2
Comradely	51.6	43.9	37.2
Purely businesslike	13.7	27.7	20.9
Cool, strained	6.3	8.1	4.7
Poor, tense	3.3	5.4	4.7
Other responses	2.2	2.0	2.3
Did not respond	2.0	4.1	--

The scientific elaboration of a system of indicators, standards and guidelines, which thoroughly characterizes the possibilities and means of achieving the set goal, is playing an increasing role in the achievement of the unity of organizing, economic and ideological work. It is impossible to evaluate the tasks of the production collective only from the point of view of economic expediency--they should conform to the needs of social development and the ideological directives of the party.

At present a number of questions of a sociopolitical and ideological nature have not yet become a part of the administrative influence of the collective and its public organizations. In our opinion, the clearer specification of the rights and duties of the collective and the demarcation of the its powers and the powers of the administration are required. This will unquestionably promote the more effective combination of organizational, economic and ideological work and the increase of the level of scientific management at the present stage of the building of communism.

## FOOTNOTES

1. See "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 goda" [On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979], Moscow, 1979, p 5.
2. See G. Kh. Popov, "Problemy teorii upravleniya" [Problems of the Theory of Management], Moscow, 1974, p 20.
3. We regarded organizing work as a part of organizational work.
4. L. I. Brezhnev, "Speech at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 27 November 1979," KOMMUNIST, No 17, 1979, p 18.
5. "XXIV s'yezd KPSS. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [The 24th CPSU Congress. Verbatim Report], Vol 1, Moscow, 1971, p 91.

6. See "Partiya v period razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva. Materialy nauchno-teoreticheskoy konferentsii 'XXV s"yezd KPSS i razvitiye marksistko-leninskoy teorii'" /The Party During the Period of the Mature Socialist Society. Materials of the Theoretical Science Conference "The 25th CPSU Congress and the Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory"/, Moscow, 1977, p 105.
7. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-ideologicheskoy raboty," p 6.
8. The question was asked 1.5 months after the decree was published.
9. See PRAVDA, 24 June 1980.

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CSO: 1806

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

ON THE QUESTION OF THE ESSENCE OF BILINGUALISM IN THE USSR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 42-48

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Imran Bayramovich Dzhaferov, docent of the Baku Higher Party School]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

## 'PUBLIC OPINION' AS A SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 49-58

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Mikhail Konstantinovich Gorshkov, staff member of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ Public opinion under the conditions of mature socialism is an effective means of management and social control. This explains the increased (especially in the past decade) interest of scientists and experienced workers in studying its problems. However, it should be noted that at present the main attention is being devoted to the study of manifestations of public opinion and its essence and structure and its functional relations with public consciousness are being poorly studied. Hence, also, the shortcomings in the empirical study of this social phenomenon. The main ones, in our opinion, reduce to the following: 1) public opinion is studied, as a rule, in statics, as a result of which the obtained data are interpreted without regard for the state of its structural dynamics at the moment of the study (emergence, formation or functioning); 2) the study object is chosen without any connection to the factors of public interest and debatability, which also govern the natural reaction of public opinion; 3) primarily questionnaire surveys (primarily at the place of work of the respondent) and the analysis of letters are used, which gives to some extent a limited idea of the sentiments of the people, while nonstandardized interviewing (including at the place of residence of the respondent), the incorporated observation and expert surveys, which make it possible in combination with the above-mentioned methods to make a comprehensive study of public opinion and to get to the bottom of this phenomenon, often remain outside the field of view of sociologists.

Moreover, frequently any sociological research, which establishes the actions of the respondents, their knowledge, convictions and reasons of behavior, is taken for the study of public opinion, but precisely the value judgments of people, which reflect their attitude toward urgent problems of social life, should be identified.

In our opinion, when studying the essence and structure of public opinion it is expedient to use a number of situations which establish its distinctive features, properties or qualities, the aggregate of which characterizes the occurrence as a whole as a phenomenon of the spiritual life of society.

/Public opinion is a specific manifestation of the state of public consciousness/. The idea of defining the phenomenon in question in terms of the state of public consciousness belongs to A. K. Uledov, who, using the category "state of consciousness," substantiated the special place of public opinion in the structure of public consciousness. He sees the specific nature of the states of public consciousness in the disposition and direction of consciousness under the influence of the ideas and views dominant in it.<sup>1</sup> The importance of singling out public opinion in the structure of public consciousness not simply as a state of the latter, but as one of the unique and effective manifestations of this state should especially be emphasized. Of course, it is a matter here not of distinguishing a special or independent spiritual "substance" (the state of consciousness), but of the fact that the forms of the reflection of objective and subjective reality go through specific states.

Another investigator of public opinion, B. A. Grushin, compared this phenomenon with the concept "mass consciousness." "Public opinion," he writes, "can be defined as the consciousness of the masses, mass consciousness or... as the state of mass consciousness."<sup>2</sup> Mass consciousness itself according to Grushin is that form of consciousness, which, on the one hand, "as if it overlies all existing forms of consciousness or, perhaps, it would be better to say, is a part of each of them as a unique means of their existence,"<sup>3</sup> but on the other hand "does not coincide with any of the known types of consciousness described by science: individual and public, class and nonclass, theoretical and everyday, official and unofficial, religious and political and so on...."<sup>4</sup> Here the author stresses the complexity of the composition of mass consciousness (its multilayer, multisector nature) and its greater dependence on the mass media than on everyday life.

Both approaches became widespread in both domestic and foreign literature, while continuing to remain a topic of discussions and debates. Some believe that the introduction of the category "the state of mass consciousness" is a step forward in the study of the nature of public opinion,<sup>5</sup> others express doubts about the productivity of defining public opinion in terms of this concept.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, it is hardly justified to divorce the consciousness of the masses from their daily life, to interpret its peculiarities on the basis of the extensive influence of the mass media. It is another matter if the consciousness which has not yet become widespread is regarded as specialized consciousness, while the consciousness which has become widespread is regarded as mass consciousness. Moreover, specialized consciousness is understood as that consciousness, those ideological formations, which exist as theories, concepts and are initially accessible to few people, while mass consciousness is understood as various sociopsychological formations, in which the ideas and notions which are the essence of specialized consciousness are gradually embodied and are become widespread along with these formations (public sentiment, public opinion, the spiritual atmosphere, traditions).<sup>7</sup> Then the use of the term "mass consciousness" in defining the concept "public opinion" (but namely in its correlation with "specialized consciousness") is fully justified, which makes it possible to identify more precisely the essence of public opinion.

A period during which the opinion is manifested in the form of the first, approximate, rough reaction of people, which expresses the value-principle and emotional-volitional attitude toward some events or phenomena or others, precedes the



acquisition by the latter of the quality of a state of public consciousness. During this time newer and newer social groups, strata, communities and so on join in the process of the origin and formation of public opinion. Here the judgments reproducing the object of the close attention of the people not so much reflect reality as they characterize their attitude toward it. At this, in essence the initial stage of the formation of public opinion its subject in practice does not lend itself to strict definition, since it is very difficult to draw the boundaries of the social community within which the process occurs. In such a situation the interpretation of public opinion as a manifestation of the state of mass consciousness is entirely legitimate, explicable and from a practical point of view simply convenient.

Subsequently the judgments which have gained authority occupy the dominant position in public opinion, reflecting its activeness, which means the transition of public opinion from the stage of formation to the stage of functioning.

Of course, public opinion does not go through such complex processes of transformation every time and in connection with each fact or event. In particular, there is no need to speak about this when facts or phenomena already known to people become its object. Nevertheless public opinion during the period of emergence and formation can practically always be regarded as the reaction of mass consciousness to events or facts of social reality, while upon completion of its formation and with the changeover to the process of active and extensive functioning it can be regarded as a manifestation of the state of public consciousness.

/The subject of socialist public opinion is the popular majority/. The question of the subject of public opinion is of fundamental importance for the knowledge of its essence. Nevertheless in this area there is still no unanimity among researchers. Some believe that the people or the larger part of them perform the role of the bearer of public opinion,<sup>8</sup> others assign to the subject of public opinion both society as a whole and large social groups, classes,<sup>9</sup> still others assume that any social, economic, demographic, territorial group and so on can be the subject of public opinion.<sup>10</sup> And finally, some researchers identify the concept "the subject of public opinion" with the concept "the community."<sup>11</sup>

One of the reasons of such a diversity of points of view on one of the main questions of the theory of public opinion is explained by the fact that researchers treat the term "public opinion" frequently arbitrarily, using it without any grounds for this. Almost any opinion, regardless of what community of people stated and support it, is called public opinion, while one community of people or another can also be a collaborator in the expression of the opinion of the whole society, when the subject of this opinion affects the interests of the broad popular masses, and can express exclusively its own, group, collective opinion on questions of interest only for itself.

But this means that the collective, different social strata, groups and the people as a whole cannot be regarded as bearers of public opinion of the same order, and if an individual person, a collective, a social, demographic group and so on can be the one who expresses the latter, the people, the popular majority act as its general bearer. The national nature of public opinion is displayed especially vividly at the stage of mature socialism, "when a new historical community of people--the Soviet people--was formed on the basis of the convergence of all classes and social

strata, the legal and actual equality of all nations and nationalities and their fraternal cooperation."<sup>12</sup>

The conversion of all strata of the population to the ideological and political positions of the working class, the unity of the main interests of all classes and social groups and the increase of the social homogeneity of Soviet society serve as the guarantor of the formation and functioning in it of national opinion.

Based on the definition of the subject of public opinion, it would be advisable, in our opinion, to call it national or popular opinion. It would be advisable to name the other types of opinion with the specification of the subject-carrier of this opinion. For example, "the public opinion of the working class," "the public opinion of the kolkhoz peasantry," "the public opinion of young people," "the public opinion of the collective" and so forth. It seems that this would promote, on the one hand, the strict distinction of truly public, more precisely national opinion as a special and the most important type of "opinion in general" and, on the other, would make it possible to avoid terminological confusion in the designation and interpretation of its various manifestations.

/The object of public opinion is facts and events, phenomena and processes, which are notable for public interest and debatability/. Interest acts as the leading factor, the criterion of the "choice" of the objects of public opinion. The more profoundly and strongly the interests of the members of society are affected, the more actively and vividly it manifests itself. The duration and intensity of the attention to one object or another are determined by the time which is required for the realization and satisfaction of the interests and needs of social communities. Here in order to achieve its goals and interests public opinion can be displayed not only as value judgments, but also through the practical actions of the masses.

The factor of debatability, which actively interacts with the factor of interest, is inseparably connected with the elaboration of the judgments of public opinion. The greater and more stable the interest of the members of a social community in the object of opinion is, the more pointedly and lively the discussion process progresses and the more strongly the tension of the moral and psychological atmosphere within this community is felt. And on the contrary, a negligible temporary interest of people in some fact of surrounding life results in a relatively peaceful exchange of opinions and an inadequately pronounced discussion process. In such a case the formed general opinion can be unstable and often can undergo fluctuations and substantial changes. Hence it is clear how important it is when forming an active, "long-term" public opinion to be able to arouse and maintain a great interest in its object, to master the art of organizing the controversial, fruitful exchange of opinions, which is conducive to the elaboration of the most mature, competent collective judgments.

The purposefulness of the formation of public opinion and the effectiveness of its functioning in many ways depend on the awareness of people about a wide range of problems, an adequately good understanding of the essence of the processes taking place in society and the ability to understand them. However, the lack of reliable information cannot serve as an obstacle to the formation of public judgments. Each time the lack of information is offset by something; the aptitude of the subject for imagination and fantasy is also not of the least importance. The great interest

of its subject in some problems remains the motive force of the emergence and formation of public opinion even when information is lacking. Whatever replaces objective information and knowledge in the process of the formation of public opinion, of course, influences its content most substantially and does not make it possible to reflect reality adequately. However, the opinion still forms and finds channels for its manifestation. Therefore the competence of public opinion cannot be considered an absolute criterion of the choice of its objects, it is impossible to say that without the necessary degree of competence there is no public opinion as such. The point should rather be that a formed opinion in individual instances may be unobjective or incompetent.

/Public opinion, relying on the support and authority of the popular majority, is notable for internal unity (monism) and on this basis shows itself to be the regulator of the behavior and practical activity of people/. Only the judgments, which enjoy support and are shared by the majority of the members of the social community which gave rise to it, constitute the content of the formed opinion. Does this assumption imply the superfluity and uselessness of the opinion of the minority, that is, the judgments which did not become a part of the formed general opinion? Is it possible to dismiss it in the determination of the end result of the formation of this opinion? It does not seem so. For there is no strict dependence between the correctness of an opinion and the number of its supporters, and the opinion of the minority is not always a worse, incorrect opinion. Let us recall, for example, how much effort V. I. Lenin needed to convince the broad masses of workers and even his closest associates of the need for the quickest possible conclusion of the Brest peace treaty. It is also appropriate to recall the time which preceded the development of the virgin lands. The conflict of opinions at that time was extremely pointed, the minority was transformed into the majority with difficulty, by the overcoming of set views and notions. All this is vividly described by L. I. Brezhnev in the book of memoirs "Tselina" /The Virgin Land/.

At the same time, no matter how wise the decision of the minority might be, in order to embody the ideas incorporated in it it is necessary for the latter to capture the consciousness of the broad masses of workers. It is impossible to do without this especially if it is a question of transformations which are being accomplished on the scale of the entire society. The opinion of the majority also has a lofty political status, which is set forth in the USSR Constitution. Its fifth article states: "The most important questions of state life are submitted to national discussion, as well as put to a national vote (referendum)."

Based on what has been said it is possible to draw three fundamental conclusions. First, public opinion in all instances reflects the point of view of the majority, although not in all instances can it act as the true opinion. Second, public opinion is not the simple sum of the opinions constituting it, not the arithmetic addition of the judgments of individual people, groups, collectives, but something greater than this sum.<sup>13</sup> It is the concentrated expression of collective reason, the fundamental combination of individual and group opinions. And third, internal unity is inherent in public opinion as the opinion of the majority, and hence the judgments, which oppose and conflict during the period of its emergence and formation, cannot be present simultaneously in the content of a formed public opinion. Public opinion establishes not the process of the exchange of opinions, not the struggle of opposing opinions, but the result of both.

Strictly speaking, the result here can be ambiguous. In one instance the exchange of opinions leads to the origination of an opinion which is approved of and supported by the majority of the social community, while in another instance this cannot be achieved. And it will no longer be a question of public opinion on this question, but of the existence within the community of different judgments (there can be two, three and more of them). The formed quantitative correlation between the members of the community, who support one judgment or another, should be examined not in statics, but in dynamics and should be regarded as the process of the formation, the origination of a general opinion from the opinion of those in opposition. Monism, therefore, is an integral essential trait of public opinion.

The moral and political authority, which public opinion has in real life, and the transformation of the latter into a social force are first of all the result of the attainment (even if it is not a very quick one) of internal unity. This assumption should especially be emphasized, since frequently attempts are made to represent public opinion regardless of the laws of its development as a pluralistic formation, without distinctions being made here between the process of the formation of public opinion and its result.

/Public opinion is a specific product of the contact of people/. Since public judgments originate in the process of discussion, the exchange of opinions, contact is an important factor of their formation. Individual judgments "clash" and a general opinion is crystallized precisely in the process of contact, and therefore the structure and content of the formed opinion reflect the components of the structure and content of the contact which preceded its origination. Since the development of the structural dynamic characteristics of contact is such that purely personal principles are being supplanted and replaced more and more by mediated, mass contact, the possibility of the purposeful (conscious) formation of group judgments, the increase of their maturity and competence, the raising of the content of public opinion to an adequate reflection of phenomena and facts of social reality is increasing.

The set of types and means of contact,<sup>14</sup> which are prevalent and are used within the given social community, determines the possible channels of the formation and emergence of its general opinion. In this connection it should be noted that the prevalence within a social community of some type of contact can have an influence on the thematic orientation of group judgments and on their qualitative characteristics. For example, the prevalence of the political type of contact over other types increases the intensity of political judgments and lends the latter the nature of stability. The prevalence of unofficial (informal) contact over official (formal) contact can lead to the lack of the information necessary for the elaboration of an objective opinion and as a consequence to mistakes and misconceptions in the appraisal of some facts or others.

It is also important to bear in mind that "spiritual contact deals with the subjective reflection of objective reality--the thoughts, ideas, feelings and emotions of a person, which owing precisely to involvement in the process of contact realize themselves, become accessible to other people..."<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the emotional nature of the communicative relations of the members of a community "dilutes" the rational, informational base of contact, and this in turn saturates value judgments emotionally, establishes a certain correlation of the rational and the emotional in the general opinion.



Contact and public opinion actively interact and interpenetrate, fundamentally complementing each other. Whereas, on the one hand, public opinion is the product, the concentrated spiritual and practical result of contact, then, on the other hand, the opinion itself, by having relative independence and the ability to have a regulating effect on people, influences the communicative activity of the individual, the social community as a whole, and is transformed into a factor of intensive, purposeful intragroup contact.

/Public opinion has a dynamic structure, passing through the stages of emergence, formation and functioning/.

The dynamics of public opinion should be understood as the continuous process of its development and the gradual manifestation of the states of emergence, formation and functioning, which are fundamentally related and have at the same time a period of relatively independent existence and which constitute its dynamic structure.<sup>16</sup> The results of the dynamics of a specific public opinion are very diverse--from its "disappearance without a trace" to its transformation into norms, customs and traditions of society.

/Public opinion has an elemental structure, being the unity of the rational, the emotional and the volitional/. During the period of the formation of the general opinion the cognitive (rational) principles dominate in the complex interaction of the intellectual, emotional and volitional elements. With the formation of the statements of the general opinion emotions, feelings, experiences--integral attributes of the process--are integrally included in them. "These two aspects," S. L. Rubinshteyn wrote, "which are always represented in the consciousness of man in unity and interpenetration, function here as experience and knowledge."<sup>17</sup>

At the same time the rational principles of public opinion in combination with feelings and emotions, being elements of its structure and expressing the effective, active aspect of opinion, are closely connected with the volitional motives of the subject. "If the process of the formation of volition and judgments coincides, volition, being notable for greater stability, lends the corresponding stability to the judgments themselves. Becoming in individual situations the buttress of a judgment, volition promotes their dissemination and realization."<sup>18</sup> Thus, in value judgments of public opinion the rational, emotional and volitional act "as different aspects of a unified whole, as the structural units, the interaction of which gives rise to the qualitative features inherent in the whole."<sup>19</sup>

/Public opinion has an intrasubject structure/. The judgments of individual people are included in the process of the formation of public opinion. These judgments can "penetrate" public opinion not only through the opinion of the collective, the social group, but also by bypassing them,<sup>20</sup> and, consequently, separate individuals can be a part of the structure of the object of the public opinion being formed.

Collectives of people hold a special place in the structure of the subject of public opinion. In socialist society they are first of all the labor collectives (production, rural, scientific and others). The enhancement of their role under the conditions of mature socialism is explained first of all by the development of democracy, the process of social integration, the overcoming of class differences and the increase of the sociopolitical and ideological unity of the Soviet people. Precisely "the maturity of collective judgments determines the maturity of individual



judgments, and in the end the judgments of all society,"<sup>21</sup> in other words, collective opinion acts as the connecting link between individual opinion and public opinion.

Moreover, classes, national communities of the country, certain strata or others of the population, socio-occupational and sociodemographic groups are distinguished in the structure of the subject of socialist public opinion. Strictly speaking, there can be just as many different types of group (general) opinions as there are different social communities which are characterized by their own specific interests. The mentioned communities, which act as the subject of general opinions, are the main levels of the sociopolitical organization of society. The most important role in social life belongs to their opinions. On the structural level the indicated types of opinions are the reference points, the successive stages of the formation of a higher (both in level and in importance) type of general opinion--national opinion.

The inclusion of certain collectives, social groups or others in the structure of the subject of public opinion is governed by what strata of the population, what collectives of people have entered the "field" of its formation, how great the activeness of the expression of views and points of view on the given problem is, to what extent the opinion of one community or another on its practical importance stands out among the others.

The Communist Party is the guiding force of the organization of the purposeful formation and effective functioning of national opinion. Armed with a scientific theory and expressing the fundamental interests of the working class and all workers, the Marxist-Leninist party at the same time also expresses the fundamental interests of the development and improvement of the entire society as a whole. Through the value judgments of its members the CPSU influences the activeness, maturity and competence of public opinion, continuously increases its political and moral status and ensures its influence on all spheres of social vital activity.

In forming a unanimous public opinion, which would objectively reflect economic, sociopolitical, moral and other processes, the party relies on the public. In implementing the policy of the party and relying in its activity on the interests and needs of social communities and their judgments, the Soviet public, on the one hand, occupies an important place in the structure of the subject of public opinion and, on the other, is its strong spokesman.

Thus, it is not the very subject of public opinion, but its internal structure which can be represented by individual people, collectives of people, sociodemographic and social class groups, nations and other social communities, which under the guiding and directing activity of the CPSU participate in its formation and expression.

/Public opinion has an intra-object structure/. The analysis of the objects entering the field of view of public opinion suggests the idea that they are not equivalent in their content. The opinions on facts, events and phenomena (processes) of surrounding reality differ depending on the greater or lesser degree of complexity of their internal structure and organization.

The simplest, monostructural unit--the object of the reaction of public opinion--is one fact or another which was in the field of view of people. An event is a more

complex object, which is distinguished by a significant information content, a set of specific data which constitute its factual side. The phenomenon should be considered the most complex unit—the object of public opinion. To be reflected in the judgments of public opinion it requires a certain amount of knowledge on the part of the subject of this opinion. The polystructure, complexity and at times the lack of clear boundaries of the content of a phenomenon are the source of the contradictoriness of the judgments of public opinion, the reason that often in the latter not all its diversity, but only individual aspects and elements find reflection. Moreover, facts, events and phenomena of /objective reality, everyday public life/ (economic processes, the material living conditions, the conditions of the activity of people and others) and /subjective reality, public consciousness/ (moral notions, socio-psychological processes various systems of values and others) are distinguished among the objects of public opinion.<sup>22</sup>

For the purposes of defining concretely and establishing the range of the interests of the subject of public opinion all the facts, events and phenomena of the former group can be classified with respect to certain areas of the practical activity of people, while those of the latter group can be classified with respect to the existing types and spheres of public consciousness.

/Public opinion as a specific manifestation of the state of public consciousness is reflected in qualitative-quantitative characteristics/. Here they are transformed into a means of evaluating the different parameters of the state of public opinion. They, first, reflect the results of the formation of a specific opinion and, second, make it possible to judge the real and potential chances of its influence on social reality, the behavior and practical activity of people. The most significant of them are direction, intensity, prevalence, stability, dynamicity and maturity.

Direction establishes the preference or rejection by the subject of public opinion of certain problems, norms and values or others or a neutral (indifferent) stance with respect to them. The intensity of public opinion expresses: a) the degree of interest of the subject in some object; b) the strength of conviction of the subject in the correctness, importance and practical utility of his judgments; c) the degree of persistence of the subject of opinion in defending his demands, in the resolution of one problem or another. The prevalence of public opinion establishes the presence at the individual, collective, group, class and other levels of consciousness of forming or already established judgments of public opinion. Along with the social prevalence of the latter it is also possible to speak of its geographic prevalence, which attests to the functioning of public judgments in various regions of the country. Stability and dynamicity reflect the degree of steadiness or mobility of the content of public opinion. Maturity is a complex characteristic of public opinion. It reveals not so much individual aspects of this phenomenon as its integral qualitative state. The main criterion of the maturity of public opinion is the results of its functioning, which have been materialized in the socio-economic, political, moral and cultural life of society and reflect the effectiveness of this opinion.

In summary, it is possible to characterize public opinion in the following manner: it is a specific spiritual formation, of which the popular majority is the subject. Acting as a manifestation of the state of public consciousness, it reflects in a

mediated and generalized manner facts, events and phenomena (processes) of objective or subjective reality and is capable in turn of having an inverse influence on the consciousness of society. Having originated in contact, in the process of sharing opinions and discussions, public opinion is realized via the value judgments or practical actions of the masses, which reflect their value-principle attitude toward the object of opinion. Having a multivariate structure (dynamic, elemental, intra-subject, intra-object), it is distinguished by internal unity and acts as a monistic formation, which has been endowed with the ability to regulate the behavior of people, to persuade and prompt them to certain acts and practical activity.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See on the states of public consciousness: A. K. Uledov, "Obshchestvennoye mneniye sovetskogo obshchestva" /Public Opinion of Soviet Society/, Moscow, 1963, pp 45-50; A. K. Uledov, "Struktura obshchestvennogo soznaniya" /The Structure of Public Consciousness/, Moscow, 1968, Chapter 5; A. K. Uledov, "On the State of Public Consciousness," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 2, 1966.
2. B. A. Grushin, "Mneniya o mire i mir mneniy" /Opinions About the World and the World of Opinions/, Moscow, 1967, p 61.
3. Ibid., p 24.
4. B. A. Grushin, "Logical Principles of the Study of Mass Consciousness," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 8, 1970, p 96.
5. See, for example, N. G. Ganusov, "On the Question of the Definition of the Concept 'Public Opinion'," NAUCHENYYE TRUDY (Tashkent State University), No 420, 1972, p 33.
6. See V. S. Korobeynikov, "Two Aspects of the Specific Nature of Public Opinion," "Sotsiologicheskiye problemy obshchestvennogo mneniya i sredstv massovoy informatsii" /Sociological Problems of Public Opinion and the Mass Media/, Moscow, 1975, p 13.
7. See A. K. Uledov, "The Interaction of Ideology and Social Psychology in the Process of Ideological Influence," "Voprosy teorii i metodov ideologicheskoy raboty" /Problems of the Theory and Methods of Ideological Work/, Moscow, 1977, No 7, p 7.
8. See A. I. Burdina, "On the Question of the Definition of the Category 'Soviet Public Opinion,'" UCHENYYE ZAPISKI KHAR'KOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, No 1, 1963; A. K. Uledov, "Obshchestvennoye mneniye sovetskogo obshchestva," Moscow, 1968; N. I. Udovenko, "The Nature of Public Opinion," candidate dissertation abstract, Moscow, 1972, and others.
9. See V. S. Korobeynikov, "Vozrastaniye roli i znacheniya obshchestvennogo mneniya v zhizni sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" /The Increase of the Role and Importance of Public Opinion in the Life of Socialist Society/, Moscow, 1979; Yu. N. Safronov, "Obshchestvennoye mneniye i religioznyye traditsii" /Public Opinion and Religious Traditions/, Moscow, 1970, and others.

10. See B. A. Grushin, "Mneniya o mire i mir mneniy," Moscow, 1967; R. A. Safarov, "Problems of Studying Public Opinion," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 1, 1977.
11. See A. D. Glotochkin, "Obshchestvennoye mneniye, gruppovyye nastroyeniya, traditsii v voinskom kollektive i puti vliyaniya na nikh" /Public Opinion, Group Sentiments, Traditions in the Military Collective and Ways of Influencing Them/, Moscow, 1971; A. Spirkin, "Kurs marksistskoy filosofii" /A Course in Marxist Philosophy/, Moscow, 1966.
12. "Konstitutsiya (Osnovnoy Zakon) Soyuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" /The Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics/, Moscow, 1977, p 4.
13. See V. Kuz'michev, "Organizatsiya obshchestvennogo mneniya" /The Organization of Public Opinion/, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, p 61.
14. The corresponding types of contact are distinguished depending on the types of activity and the structure of public consciousness. For example, political, spiritual, scientific and so on. Moreover, the breakdown of the various types of contact according to more general attributes, which reflect the structural dynamic characteristic of contact, is possible: direct and mediated, business (utilitarian) and game, personal and functional role, official and unofficial, situational and constant contact and others (for more detail see B. D. Parygin, "Nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i lichnost'. Sotsial'no-psikhologicheskiye problemy" /The Scientific and Technical Revolution and the Individual. Socio-psychological Problems/, Moscow, 1978, pp 124, 125).
15. V. S. Korobeynikov, "Dukhovnoye obshcheniye, obmen informatsiyey, ideologicheskaya bor'ba" /Spiritual Contact, the Exchange of Information, the Ideological Struggle/, Moscow, 1976, p 11.
16. For more detail see M. K. Gorshkov, F. E. Sheregi, "The Dynamics of the Public Opinion of Young People," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1979.
17. S. L. Rubinshteyn, "Osnovy obshchey psikhologii" /The Fundamentals of General Psychology/, Moscow, 1945, p 6.
18. R. A. Safarov, "Obshchestvennoye mneniye i gosudarstvennoye upravleniye" /Public Opinion and State Government/, Moscow, 1975, p 29.
19. Yu. N. Safronov, Op. cit., p 24.
20. The letters, suggestions and remarks of citizens, which are sent without preliminary discussion with anyone to state organs, can serve as an example of the latter. The letters of workers, as is known, are perforce taken into account when solving some socially important questions or others.
21. See A. V. Varlamov, "Communist Propaganda in the Process of Forming Public Opinion," "Voprosy teorii i metodov ideologicheskoy raboty" /Problems of the Theory and Methods of Ideological Work/, Moscow, 1977, No 7, p 195.
22. See, for example, B. A. Grushin, "Mneniya o mire i mir mneniy," p 100.

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CSO: 1806

VALUES IN THE STRUCTURE OF FASHION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 59-64

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Aleksandr Bentsionovich Gofman, senior research associate of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Industrial Design of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806



## SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND THE PRACTICE OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK

### COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE LENKORAN' PARTY ORGANIZATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 65-69

/Interview with First Secretary of the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Hero of Socialist Labor I. A. Mamedov by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor F. R. Filippov, deputy editor in chief of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA/

/Text/ As was already reported in our journal,<sup>1</sup> a meeting was held in Lenkoran' between the party and economic aktiv of the city and the rayon and workers of the editorial board, during which questions of the cooperation of the local party organization and the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA on improving ideological activity and increasing its effectiveness and quality were discussed. First Secretary of the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Hero of Socialist Labor I. A. Mamedov received Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor F. R. Filippov, deputy editor in chief of the journal. A short record of their conversation is published below.

F. R. Filippov. In preparing for the 26th CPSU Congress, the party organizations, ideological institutions and labor collectives are successfully implementing the decisions of the Communist Party and are increasing the quality and effectiveness of communist education. The achievements of the workers of Soviet Azerbaijan are well known in the country. Lenkoran' holds a special place among the cities and rayons of the republic. A high level of development of the economy and culture and the material well-being of the workers has been achieved here. Considerable favorable experience in ideological work has also been gained. All this requires serious scientific interpretation, including by sociological methods. And your desire to establish close contact with sociological scientists is understandable. First of all what, in your opinion, are the importance and role of sociological research in political educational work?

I. A. Mamedov. Concern about the working man is at the center of attention of the Lenkoran' Party Organization. When we speak about a comprehensive approach in economic organizing and political educational work, we mean that the achievement of high production and economic indicators is a necessary and the main, but nevertheless an inadequate condition for the formation of a truly socialist type of

1. See SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1980, p 231.

individual. The increase of the well-being is a multifaceted process which includes not only the increase of the material standard of living, but also the development of spiritual culture and the education of the new man. It is hardly necessary to prove that a thorough study of the laws and methods of influencing the feelings, thoughts and behavior of people is required here. Whereas it is possible to obtain from reporting information on the fulfillment of the production plans, the number of measures implemented and so forth, it is a difficult matter to measure the effectiveness of educational influence. Of course, the party workers are in the thick of labor and public life and, as a rule, know the state of affairs in the organizations well. But we need precise, scientifically verified knowledge of how effective our educational and propaganda efforts are.

During the years of recent five-year plans such substantial changes have occurred in the level of education and culture, in the very way of life of the people that it is impossible to perform educational work without thoroughly considered scientific recommendations. In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" it is especially stressed that the weakness of propaganda and education until recently was that they did not always conform to the increased educational and cultural level and needs of the workers and inadequately took into account the dynamic nature of the social and spiritual development of our society.

In my opinion, the need has arrived for the systematic conducting by party committees of sociological studies of the material, cultural and spiritual needs of various groups of the population and of the features of their behavior. Public opinion and the evaluations by people of phenomena of socio-economic and spiritual life should also be studied constantly. Therefore we also made to the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee a request to help us to establish creative contacts with professional sociologists. We hope that the cooperation with SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA will make it possible to fulfill the outlined task: to set up a permanent sociological service in the city committee of the party and to place its activity at the level of present requirements.

F. R. Filippov. I absolutely agree with you, Isa Aliyevich: it is necessary to introduce sociological studies in the practical work of party committees. Valuable experience has been gained in this respect in the party organizations of Moscow, Leningrad, a number of republics and oblasts. However, many problems exist here, and first of all the question rests on personnel. For it is well known that an unskillfully conducted study not only is of no benefit, but can sow disenchantment and skepticism.

I. A. Mamedov. We are not counting on quick and easy success. The organization of a sociological service for us is not a one-time measure, but the beginning of permanent and systematic work. Therefore we will not hurry. The workers of the staff of the city committee and the party and economic aktiv will have to, as they say, "begin to learn," study the theory and methods of conducting sociological research. A serious difficulty is that so far we do not have a staff of professional sociologists. There is not one higher educational institution in the city, the training of sociologists is not being carried out at higher educational institutions of the republic. The appropriate organizations need to think over the question of the regular training of sociological personnel.

F. P. Filippov. In fact the city committee is beginning the social experiment with the task of ascertaining what the sociological service should be, of determining, so to speak, the general outline of its model. Here it is important not only to overcome the difficulties, but also to draw up the necessary procedural recommendations, since sociological research in the party committees is becoming more and more widespread. The journal proposes to study and generalize the experience of the Lenkoran' Party Committee and hopes that both sociologists and party workers will take part in the discussion of the problems of the sociological service attached to the party committee.

I. A. Mamedov. A specific question interests me: How is a sociological service set up and with what rights? Is not the experience of the organization of public commissions attached to party organs and soviets of people's deputies useful here?

F. R. Filippov. In my opinion, the service should have the rights of a public commission or council attached to the city committee of the party, while the second secretary or the chief of the propaganda and agitation department should head it. It is advisable to include on the commission the executives (or their deputies for ideological work) of the party organizations of large enterprises and institutions, instructors of social science disciplines, workers of personnel departments, departments of labor and wages, cultural institutions and statistical organs and economic planners.

I. A. Mamedov. These suggestions are constructive. I could add to them: scientists from Moscow and Baku must be included on our commission.

F. R. Filippov. The profound changes which have been occurring in recent years in the material well-being and the cultural and spiritual makeup of the people of Lenkoran' reflect the main trends and laws of the progressive development of Soviet society. In this connection I would like to find out about the achievements of the city and rayon during the years of recent five-year plans.

I. A. Mamedov. Indeed, much has been done in the past 10 years. I will mention a few figures and cite the most characteristic facts.

Our party organization covers with its influence the population of two cities, six settlements and 74 villages with a total population (according to the data of the latest census) of 142,700, and the ratio of the urban and rural population all these years has remained stable: 46 and 54 percent. Now Lenkoran' is one of the developed industrial and agricultural regions of Soviet Azerbaijan. It is the second subtropic zone of the USSR, the rarest forests, the Gyzyt-Agach Reserve of world significance, hot springs and other natural wealth are located on the territory of the rayon. The favorable climatic conditions have made it possible to transform the rayon into the largest "all-union garden." The world-famous variety of tea "Bouquet of Azerbaijan" is grown here. The Kaspiyskiy Kolkhoz sends fresh flowers and seeds to more than 100 cities of the country. Moreover, in our rayon there are 26 industrial enterprises which manufacture diverse products. But our main wealth is people. In the All-Union Socialist Competition the workers of the rayon have won the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee seven times in a row. The vegetable growers of the rayon fulfilled the plan assignments of the Ninth Five-Year

Plan in four years and the assignments of the 10th Five-Year Plan in three years and five months. At the Sovkhoz imeni Abbasov the brigade headed by Mamedrza Rasulov raised 727 quintals of vegetables per hectare--more than twice as much as on the average for the rayon. And there are many such examples.

In the past decade much has also changed in the cultural life of the rayon. A universal secondary education has been completely implemented, 83 schools, a pedagogical, medical and music school, an agricultural tekhnikum and two vocational and technical schools are in operation. In 1973 the Drama Theater imeni N. B. Vezirov, which won the honorary title of winner of the republic Komsomol prize, was opened, while according to the results of the first half of 1979 it placed second in the All-Union Socialist Competition of theatrical and entertainment establishments of the country. Honored Art Worker of the Republic M. Ismail-zade, who heads the collective of the theater, honored actors of the republic B. Aliyeva and G. Guliyev and other talented actors did much for this.

In the rayon there are 76 clubs and houses of culture, 13 movie theaters and 41 movie projectors (on the average per year each resident accounts for about 18 movie attendances), 80,000 readers use the services of 103 libraries. All these are impressive indicators of the genuine flourishing of the economy and culture of the region. They are the result of the consistent implementation of the social policy of the CPSU, which is aimed at the utmost increase of the well-being of the workers. The achievements of Lenkoranskiy Rayon are a component of the social development of Soviet society. Our achievements to a significant extent resulted from the constant attention of the party organization to social questions.

Let us take, for example, personal service of the population. In the past three years alone 36 new personal service enterprises have been set up, including 17 in rural areas, the volume of personal services has increased nearly 2.5-fold. The number of places in preschool institutions increased during the past five-year plan by 15 percent, the number of hospital beds--by 12 percent, while the supply of physicians increased by one-third. The housing problem is gradually being solved. Much has been done to supply the population with personal and cultural goods, telephone service, motor transport and so on. Much work on civic improvements has been done in the city, thousands of rose bushes were planted. All this cannot but affect the mood of the people and their attitude toward labor. I believe the following: wherever there are many flowers, the people are kinder.

F. R. Filippov. Now about the ideological work proper of the party organization of the rayon. What in it, in your opinion, is especially important and interesting?

I. A. Mamedov. Ideological work first of all needs a substantial material base. We have exerted much effort in this direction. Here are just a few facts. During the 10th Five-Year Plan a House of Books and a museum were built. A Wedding Palace, or, as it is called here, "The House of Joy," was opened. A subject of our special pride is the House of the Intelligentsia, which was also built during the past five-year plan. We considered this project one of the primary construction projects--and we were not mistaken. Extensive opportunities arose to hold recreation evenings, meetings with writers, actors.



The construction of a television relay station is being completed. A political education office furnished with all the necessary aids and equipment is in operation in the building of the city committee of the party. In its equipment and the location of the materials we tried to take into account all the best that exists in the work experience of such institutions. The Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee gave us much assistance in this.

A large detachment of propagandists, agitators and lecturers of the Znaniye Society is working in the rayon. The party and economic aktiv, teachers and specialists of the national economy are taking an active part in mass political work.

I would like to tell about our new traditions. A Harvest Holiday is held annually. We carefully think over its scenario and try to see to it that it moves the heart of everyone. Production leaders and labor veterans take an active part in preparing for and holding the holiday. The city committee tries to see to it that their good words are disseminated extensively throughout the rayon. The children are equal participants in the holiday. It seems that this is conducive to their correct labor education. I will note in passing that 54 camps of labor and relaxation of school children, at which about 17,000 upper graders receive labor training and improve their health, operate here in the summer. The majority of school graduates join the labor collectives of the rayon.

And here is another good tradition: a requiem in honor of those killed at the fronts of World War II is performed annually. The people of Lenkoran' sent off to the front 12,500 of their countrymen, 7,000 of them died valiantly. The people preserve the memory of them, and, gathering on the Day of Victory near the recently erected memorial, the people of Lenkoran' pay deep respect to the true defenders of the homeland. Both the mind and the feelings of the people at those moments are focused on one thing: to preserve peace and not to allow the tragedy of a new war.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" serves as the program of our activity on the communist education of the workers. We are trying to exert every effort to accomplish the tasks advanced by the party.

I would like to repeat once again that sociological research is for us of very great importance, since it makes it possible to specify some indicators of the effectiveness of ideological work and to verify a number of proposals. It will be useful for the party aktiv to master new methods of gathering and analyzing information. It seems that our experience of ideological and political educational work will be of some interest to the readers of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. I am certain that our cooperation will yield favorable results.

An exchange of opinions on specific questions of the joint work of the Lenkoran' City Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the editorial board of the journal, as well as on the experience of using sociological research in ideological and political educational work took place during the subsequent conversation.

In conformity with a program suggested by specialists of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences,



a pilot study of the labor, sociopolitical and cultural activeness of the workers and employees has already begun in Lenkoran' It is proposed to trace the influence of the increase of the material well-being on the value orientations, the main types of pastime and to study the practical suggestions and critical remarks of the workers. The sampling is being planned so as to cover all the social groups of the employed population: agricultural and industrial workers, employees, the intelligentsia. The survey will be conducted at the place of work on the basis of a random sampling without repetition. It is planned to survey 600 people. The study is being conducted by the sociological commission under the direction of City Party Committee Secretary Comrade D. D. Dzhamalova.

The editorial board plans to cover regularly the work of the sociological service in Lenkoran' and proposes to party workers, sociologists and all readers of the journal to begin the discussion of the problems of social experimentation in ideological work and the activity of the sociological services attached to party committees.

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CSO: 1806

## QUESTIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE

### THE SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE OF ENTERPRISES AND PROBLEMS OF INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 70-78

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Viktor Grigor'yevich Britvin, senior research associate of the Department of Sociological Problems of Propaganda of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The adoption in practice of scientific methods of managing social processes required the creation of special services, which ensure the receipt of sociological information on various aspects of social life. At present, according to the data of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Sociological Association, there are more than 400 sociological subdivisions in the country, of them about 250 operate in the system of institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the republic academies of sciences and at higher educational institutions, tens operate as a public service in party organs. The largest sociological service in size and potentials is being set up in the party organization of Moscow. In many ministries there are sociological centers which carry out the scientific methods management of research within the sector. Hundreds of associations, enterprises and organizations have groups of workers who are engaged in the conducting of sociological research. Such services at the Krasnyy Proletariy Plant, the Perm' Telephone Plant, the VAZ, ZIL, Kirovskiy zavod and Svetlana production associations and others have become well known.

Along with planning the social development of collectives the sectorial and plant sociological subdivisions are successfully studying many aspects of the production and public activity of the workers of enterprises. The significant economic and social impact of the adoption of scientific recommendations on the selection of occupations, the acceleration of the adaptation of workers, the reduction of the turnover of personnel, the improvement of the moral and psychological climate in the collective and so on is obvious. For example, the steps suggested by sociologists on the regulation of the intraplant movement of personnel promoted a reduction of the turnover of manpower in the Kirovskiy zavod Production Association from 12.9 to 9.8 percent, including to 8.8 percent in the main plant.<sup>1</sup> The implementation of the suggestions of sociologists at the L'vov Elektron Production Association made it possible to reduce considerably the number of conflict situations.<sup>2</sup> The positive consequences of the development and implementation of plans of the social development of labor collectives are well known.

The need to solve in close interconnection questions of economic and social planning increases immeasurably the importance of sociological research in the practice of managing collectives. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" makes the direct appeal "to devote particular attention to the thorough and comprehensive study of public opinion, to sociological research."<sup>3</sup>

The emergence and then the increase of the number of sociological services at enterprises required the urgent solution of a number of organizational questions--the specification of the tasks of the sociological services, the place of the latter in the functional structure of the enterprise, the organizational structure of the sociological subdivisions, the determination of the rights and duties of the workers of the services and so on.<sup>4</sup> The introduction of the position of sociologist in the skill manual of positions of employees, as well as the drafting of model statutes on the sociological service of the enterprise (association) were of great importance.

The development of plant sociology in our country is directly connected with the consistent implementation of the party policy of increasing the effectiveness and quality of scientific research and expediting the introduction of scientific achievements in the national economy. The tasks set by the party of further intensifying social production are making greater demands on the activity of the sociological services of enterprises and are placing on the agenda the question of their utmost strengthening and improvement. However, the problem of seeking the optimum means of developing the organization of the plant sociological service cannot be examined in isolation of the increase of the effectiveness of sociological research for the country as a whole, in separation from the organizational support and other aspects of the development of science. The choice of the means of strengthening plant sociology in the context of the long-range policy in the creation of a unified all-union sociological service is now acquiring fundamental importance, since in the end the effectiveness of such research, the material outlays on pursuing it, the efficient utilization of sociological personnel and so on depend on this. Meanwhile elements of some disorder, haphazardness are clearly evident in the established system of plant sociological subdivisions. There are enormous enterprises which have 15,000-20,000 workers and more and do not have their own sociological service, and along with this it is possible to find a small plant or factory, at which one of the workers performs the functions of a sociologist. However, as a result of the quite poor provision with skilled sociological personnel and methods of research and information processing both enterprises are often clients of the cost accounting sociological laboratories attached to the chairs of the humanities of many higher educational institutions. Therefore, the anxiety concerning the current state of plant sociology, which President of the Soviet Sociological Association Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Kh. N. Mondzhyan expressed when speaking at the plenum of the Soviet Sociological Association in May 1980, is completely valid.

Frequently the main means of intensifying plant sociology is seen in the consolidation of the sociological services of enterprises or in the organization of these services wherever they are so far absent. The reasons for any suggestions, which are aimed at providing a stable position for plant sociology, are very well founded: a great urgency of sociological problems, the increasing importance of social reserves in the development of social production, in the increase of work quality and labor productivity and the enormous number of themes being elaborated

by plant sociologists exist here. The well-known plans of the organization of research centers for the study of socio-economic problems, which were suggested in the 1960's, apparently, also had a certain influence on the formation of the notions about the development of sociological services and their quantitative increase. The rapid development of sociology at that time was accompanied by a massive increase of the number of different structural subdivisions engaged in sociological research. The views stated then concerning the optimum organization of sociological centers continue to be topical even to this day. In particular, this pertains to the suggestion to form research groups not by directions, but on the basis of the features of the different stages of research, the specialization of scientific personnel at these stages.<sup>5</sup>

However, the plans to create sociological centers having several tens of people should be examined rather with respect to the organization of science on a nationwide scale, at the level of the sector or large regions (they have, in our opinion, also been suggested for this purpose), but can hardly be taken as the optimum model of the organization of the sociological services of enterprises or associations. The plans of laboratories, which reflect individual components of the organizational structure of sociological centers and are suggested as a model of the most advanced form of the organization of the sociological service at enterprises, cannot be recognized as efficient from the standpoint of the present possibilities of the technical and economic support and manning of production.

Let us turn to one of the proposed versions of the organization of a sociological research laboratory at a scientific production association. This laboratory, which is headed by a chief, consists of two subdivisions--a sector of sociological research methodology and methods and a sector for the processing of sociological information. Each of the sectors includes two groups: the former includes a group for the forecasting of social development and a sociological research group, the latter includes a group for data processing and modeling and a group for adoption and monitoring.<sup>6</sup> It is proposed to include 20 specialists on the staff of the sociological research laboratory of the production association: sociologists, economists, a demographer, a mathematician, an engineer, a technician, laboratory assistants and other workers. It would apparently be improper to reject the proposed scheme completely, since it is acceptable, for example, for enterprises having tens of thousands of workers and employees. However, under present conditions the solution of the problem by consolidating the sociological services and increasing the number of people employed in them to 20-25 people even at large enterprises (5,000-10,000 people) cannot be considered optimal, although, to be sure, the increase of the effectiveness of sociological research at enterprises, of its procedural level and as a whole the efficiency of the plant sociological service cannot but depend on the strength of the functional links.

A simple estimate shows: the realization of the indicated models at large industrial enterprises and associations alone would require the enlistment of additional thousands of specialists of various specializations. In 1975 the number of such enterprises in the processing sector alone was about 26,000, of them 653 had more than 5,000 people each.<sup>7</sup> If we take into account that in connection with the enhancement of the role of the social factors of the increase of production efficiency proposals are being made also on setting up at enterprises other subdivisions, which are oriented toward the utilization of the "human factor," particularly psychophysiological laboratories, even in the case of the minimum provision of plants



and factories with the appropriate personnel an additional contingent of specialists numbering in the tens of thousands is necessary.

Another important circumstance should also be taken into account. Although in recent years the prestige of sociological research has increased significantly, many managers still do not see in it a effective tool of scientific management and do not always recognize the importance of sociological information in the organization of the economic and public activity of the enterprise. Therefore the problem of developing sociological thought in the modern production manager via the system of higher education, within the framework of the further training of administrative personnel and the improvement of their production, ideological and political skill remains pressing. Unfortunately, the skepticism of some experienced workers with respect to the introduction of the positions of staff sociologists has at its basis not only the stagnation of thinking. Frequently the reason for the not entirely favorable attitude toward sociological methods of research and management consists in the fact that the typical potential sociologist, just as the recommendations made by the sociologist, cannot satisfy the modern manager, a person who, as a rule, is highly educated and, what is especially important, displays developed economic thinking.

Thus, the improvement of the sociological service at an enterprise is closely connected with staffing. The problem of the efficiency of the services will remain a topic for discussion until a new channel for reinforcing them with specialists appears. As has already been noted repeatedly by scientists and experienced workers, a system of sociological education, including higher sociological education, on a nationwide scale is needed. The purposeful training of personnel, who are oriented toward the problems of enterprises, are acquainted with the technical and organizational principles of the activity of production organizations and have philosophical, economic, political, psychological, pedagogical and mathematical knowledge and at the same time are acquainted with the methods of processing information on modern equipment, is necessary. Meanwhile in recent years hardly anything has changed in the training of sociologists, while the measures being elaborated in this area cannot improve the situation significantly.

Apparently, in the next few years along with the training of sociological specialists in the higher educational system the direction of the retraining and "further training" in courses for the improvement of skills and seminars, which operate at the leading scientific and educational institutions and have highly skilled staffs of researchers and educators, should be developed more intensively. This measure, which at first glance seems palliative, with the good organization of the matter will make it possible to solve satisfactorily the problem of personnel for the sociological services of enterprises and organizations. The training period here can be most variable depending on the main specialty and the proposed place of work.

In this connection a clarification of the real situation with staffs of plant sociologists is required. While state statistics establishes quite accurately the number of workers of uncommon specialties by different sectors, which at times number only several tens of people, there are no reliable data on sociologists. The consequence of the virtually unregulated formation of the sociological service and its staff composition is a motley contingent of workers whose activity requires regulation. The study of the situation with personnel and the identification of the



real needs of enterprises are also useful from the standpoint of the organization of sociological education in the country. The caution of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education with respect to the extensive training of sociological specialists is quite understandable. The lack of a sufficiently sound educational methods basis, as well as of complete and reliable information on the actual supply of sociological personnel and on the needs for them of the sectors of the national economy and various institutions are important grounds which are checking the making of a decision on sociological education at the state level. In our opinion, sectorial ministries, higher educational institutions and the departments of the Soviet Sociological Association could clarify things here.

Another no less important aspect of the improvement of the organization of sociological research within the existing services is their methods support. The limitation of the latter is one of the factors which govern the search for reserves to strengthen the sociological services by increasing their numerical composition. Unfortunately, the necessary methods manuals for plant sociologists, which would contain a set of approved standard methods which take into account the features of individual sectors of the national economy and of enterprises, the demographic composition and other specific characteristics of collectives, so far are lacking. At present the plant sociologist has to develop independently the program and tools of research, the methods level of which, as a rule, is low. Often the sociologist is forced to waste effort and time on the organization of the necessary materials either at scientific institutions or with his colleagues who have more work experience. The strengthening of the sociological service at an enterprise should first of all provide for the solution of the problem of scientific methods support and the creation of favorable opportunities for the needy services to acquire the appropriate programs, questionnaires, interview forms, sociometric tests, data processing methods and so forth.

Plant sociology, which mainly involves the solution of applied problems, is capable of becoming and should become a source of empirical data when solving fundamental problems of sociological science. Meanwhile this source is being utilized inadequately, and this is having the result that theoretical research often rests on a scant empirical base. The study of representative material, which has been gathered in conformity with a uniform system of social indicators through the services of plant sociology would only promote the further strengthening of the link of basic science with practice.

It is necessary to solve these topical problems first of all in the sphere of large-scale science--in the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the scientific subdivisions of the republic academies, at higher educational institutions and sectorial scientific institutions. The development of standardized documents and the elaboration of standard blocks of questionnaires, recommendations and understandable methods of processing the materials of sociological research on third generation computers will make it possible to increase substantially the level of research of plant sociologists. The suggestion advanced at the All-Union Conference of Sociologists in 1976 to create centralized files of working documents for performing sociological research remains topical. It is necessary to create such files at the main organizations and, apparently, at sectorial, regional and other sociological centers.

The strengthening of the plant sociological service should be accomplished first of all not by its consolidation, but on the basis of the intensification of activity, the increase of the coordination between the functional subdivisions. One of the conditions for this is the provision of the largest enterprises with sociologists, who have been trained at higher educational institutions, or with specialists of a close specialization, who have undergone additional training. The availability of skilled specialists if only at a few enterprises would make it possible to increase substantially the scientific methods level of research and to increase the effectiveness of practical recommendations and suggestions, which would unquestionably promote an increase of the prestige of sociological science among experienced workers. The plans elaborated in Belorussia for setting up at large enterprises working groups consisting of three to five sociologists and psychologists can be used as an effective and at the same time an economical model of the plant sociological service, at least in the immediate future.

The work of one professionally trained sociologist, who acts in close contact with the public organizations of an enterprise and with the services, whose functions include the solution of social questions—the departments of the scientific organization of labor, personnel, labor and wages, labor safety and so on—can also be useful. In this case the sociologist will coordinate the research and the implementation of measures which have a social orientation. At the majority of enterprises, especially small ones, and, perhaps, intermediate ones, the creation of sociological services may be entirely unsuitable.

The organization in the country of an effective sociological service, the improvement of the old units and the appearance of new ones in this system and the assurance of their close cooperation are of great importance for meeting the needs of plant sociology. The formation on the initiative of party organs and the USSR Academy of Sciences in some cities of branches, departments and sectors of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences is one of the promising ways of solving the problem, the advantage of which, to be sure, should appear when implementing large-scale research projects and conducting all-union sociological studies which require great manpower and material resources. In such subdivisions (and they could also be set up within other scientific institutions engaged in sociological research) the ratio of theoretical and applied research may be different than at the institutes themselves which focus their efforts first of all on the elaboration of basic questions of the development of Soviet society.

It is also expedient to think about setting up special subdivisions, the functions of which would include first of all the conducting in accordance with contracts with clients of appraisals and consultations, the performance of research and the elaboration of practical recommendations. Such subdivisions would serve the enterprises and other interested organizations located in the city, the oblast, the region. With respect to their functions, tasks and legal status they should differ substantially from the so-called economic contract sociological laboratories, which have been developed extensively, and with time could be transformed into large sociological centers or institutes. Let us note that the mentioned laboratories, the work of which is often a supplementary and in practice poorly controlled pursuit of many instructors and research associates of educational institutions, should attract more attention. The situation in which individual cost accounting laboratories, having neither scientifically sound methods nor means for data processing, including with the use of modern computer hardware or at least punch card equipment, are

conducting large-scale sociological surveys, should be corrected. The information obtained here, as a rule, cannot serve as a reliable empirical basis for serious scientific conclusions and the elaboration of practical recommendations. In our opinion, it is necessary to think about a "scientific audit" of some of these laboratories: henceforth their establishment should be accompanied by a preliminary thorough and detailed evaluation of the personnel, scientific methods, technical and other potentials on the part of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, as well as the leading scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and first of all the Institute of Sociological Research, the Institute of the Economics and Organization of Industrial Production and the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems.

The solution of the problem of organizing a highly efficient and economical sociological service presumes the distinct subordination of the units forming the service within a unified system and the determination of the nature of the link with sectorial centers, regional services, the institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the departments which are studying social problems.

The specialization of the centralized subdivisions in the management of research and the elaboration of methods and practical recommendations and suggestions on the improvement of the management of social processes can be regarded as one of the possible versions of the allocation of functions among sociological services of different levels. Here the task of the plant sociologist will consist in the preliminary analysis of real situations, the determination of the priority of the social problems requiring study at the given enterprise and participation in the gathering of information and the adoption of proposals. Such a division of labor, of course, is not absolute and might not affect the established large sociological services, which are capable of carrying out independently the entire cycle of research from the statement of the goal to the adoption of recommendations. However, it is advisable at least in the immediate future, while the question of personnel, their competence and the scientific methods support of the majority of plant services retains its topicality.

The increase of the scientific level and the efficiency of the performance of research is inconceivable without the development of effective means of processing sociological data, which are intended for use at the specialized computer centers of scientific institutions and are available for rapid assimilation in plant and other sociological subdivisions. The lack of data processing methods--a circumstance to which unjustifiedly little attention has been devoted so far--results in the predominance of inefficient methods of the manual processing of sociological information.

An important direction of the intensification of the activity of sociological services at production works is the development and adoption of automated control systems. Now it is no longer necessary to prove that an automated control system enables managers of all levels to increase the efficiency and validity of the administrative decisions being made, as a result of which the indicators of the economic activity of the enterprise improve. At the same time primarily technical and economic problems are being solved using automated control systems, while effective systems of the management of social processes can be developed and already are being developed on the basis of standard documents, which contain sociodemographic and skills indicators, data on occupational transfers and so forth. For example, at the Kama Motor

Vehicle Plant the automated control system of the social and personal subdivisions includes three subsystems, which are integrally interconnected and are aimed at the gathering and processing of information on problems of personnel, housing and medical support.<sup>8</sup>

The complex nature of production management requires the creation of a mechanism for recording and processing information, which would provide for the possibility of obtaining data on various social parameters of the activity of the enterprise, including the data which are obtained by specific sociological and sociopsychological methods and characterize the state of consciousness of the individual (the opinions, assessments, needs and interests of the individual, the satisfaction with labor, public opinion on urgent problems of the life of society and the collective and so on).

In recent years successful attempts have been made to create automated information systems, in which indicators established by sociological methods are widely represented. The automated information system based on the Minsk-22 computer and the Unified System of Computers, which was developed by the design bureau of mathematical machines and systems of the Institute of Cybernetics of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and is being used in Dnepropetrovsk, can serve as a successful example.

Computer hardware makes it possible to improve considerably the information support of administrative labor. The automated information systems designed for production collectives should perform at least the following functions: 1) they should ensure the statistical processing of social information; 2) as an information-reference system of a factual nature they should ensure the receipt of information on the quantitative and qualitative composition of the personnel, their use and movement. Standard documents on the registration of personnel, questionnaires which make it possible, for example, to establish the "expectations" of those taking a job, and social indicators which reflect specific characteristics of individual workers (occupational, psychological and others) can be its documentary basis.

In spite of certain achievements in the area of the development of adoption of automated information systems, which are oriented toward the gathering, processing, storage and retrieval of sociological data, their effective use involves first of all the elaboration of a system of social indicators and on this basis standard sociological documents.

The question of the use by individual scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences of cost accounting methods when performing some types of operations also requires examination. Of course, they should not affect the existing and as a whole justified system of financing from the state budget of the institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the main function of which is the performance of basic scientific research. However, the granting to such organizations of the right to conclude contracts on certain, perhaps strictly limited types of services (for example, the development of research programs, sociological tools, methods of processing data on computers, the training of personnel and so on) could play a positive role in the successful implementation of measures on the creation in the country of an effective sociological service and would promote an increase of the quality of research. This would stimulate the dissemination of contracts on



creative cooperation without any detriment to basic research and would promote an improvement of the quality of the work of individual scientific sociological subdivisions.

The improvement of the organization of sociological research and the creation of a sociological service on a nationwide scale require the intensification of several directions of the activity of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. First of all this concerns scientific methods, coordinating and information work and the rendering of comprehensive assistance to the sociologists of the country.

A critical interpretation of the experience gained, the identification of everything positive that was done during the years of the formation and development of sociology in the country and the uncompromising elimination of shortcomings, including in the organizational structure, in conformity with Lenin's approach to transformations of this type: "From those institutions, which we have already concocted in connection with higher institutes of labor and so forth, to select the minimum, to check the quite serious arrangement and to continue the work only so that it would truly be equal to modern science and would give us all its support,"<sup>9</sup> are necessary.

The means of organizing the plant and the all-union sociological services, which is equal to the present level of development of scientific knowledge, consists not in the creation of various sociological subdivisions attached to those organizations and wherever there are people who understand the importance of sociological research for practice, since this means leads to the inefficient use of scarce sociological personnel and the intolerable dispersal of the forces of skilled workers. The most correct method of solving the problem should not least of all also rest on scientific methods of the creation of large organizations and, consequently, should presume the preliminary designing of the service in all its most important components and connections, which ensure the best use of limited material and manpower resources, and should provide for the elaboration of a global concept of the improvement and development of the sociological (and if we are to be more precise, the social) service itself. It should cover the entire country and take into account as much as possible all-union, sectorial and regional features, needs and the prospects of development.

The scope of the work on the creation of a sociological service for such an enormous country as the USSR does not tolerate haste and requires a state approach, the enlistment in the elaboration of its foundations of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the AUCCTU, the USSR Academy of Sciences and other competent organizations. It is possible to solve this problem only by common efforts.

In our opinion, the most effective means in the formed situation--the means of the intensification of sociological research, although the most difficult one, presumes the solution of the problems of the sociological service of enterprises in combination with many problems of the organization of scientific research, which have become an important factor of the effective implementation of the social policy of the party.



# FOOTNOTES

1. See B. I. Maksimov, "The Experience of Solving Social Problems at an Association," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1979, p 128.
2. See D. P. Kaydalov, Ye. I. Sulmenko, "Psikhologiya yedinonachaliya i kollegial'nosti" /The Psychology of One-Man Management and Collective Leadership/, Moscow, 1979, p 238.
3. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy raboty. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 goda" /On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979/, Moscow, 1979, p 11.
4. See V. G. Podmarkov, "Vvedeniye v promyshlennuyu sotsiologiyu" /Introduction to Industrial Sociology/, Moscow, 1973; A. Velichko, V. Podmarkov, "Sotsiolog na predpriyatii" /The Sociologist at the Enterprise/, Moscow, 1976; A. K. Nazimova, G. N. Cherkasov, "The Sociological Service at the Industrial Enterprise," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1974.
5. See A. G. Zdravomyslov, "Metodologiya i protsedura sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy" /The Methodology and Procedure of Sociological Research/, Moscow, 1969, p 53.
6. See I. V. Skorobogatov, "Upravleniye sotsial'nymi protsessami v ob'yedinenii" /The Management of Social Processes at an Association/, Moscow, 1977, p 46. Other authors also demonstrate a similar approach in the recently published work "Sotsial'nyye problemy proizvodstva" /Social Problems of Production/, Moscow, 1979, p 280.
7. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR za 60 let" /The USSR National Economy After 60 Years/, Moscow, 1977, p 192.
8. See F. S. Raimov, G. B. Rysin, "The Use of Computer Hardware in the Calculation and Distribution of Social, Personal and Housing Funds at the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1975.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 45, p 394.

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## DISCUSSIONS AND DEBATES

### THE INCONTESTABLE AND THE CONTROVERSIAL IN THE DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 79-88

/Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Tsolak Aleksandrovich Stepanyan, chief of the Department of Scientific Communism of the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ Science cannot develop successfully without creative discussions of the new problems dictated by life. K. Marx and F. Engels spoke about this more than once. They wrote: "In order not to degenerate into a sect, we should allow discussions, but the general principles should invariably be observed."<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin also indicated that "without debate, arguments and the clash of opinions no movement, including the working class movement, is possible."<sup>2</sup> Lenin repeatedly emphasized that discussions can be of benefit only when they are conducted on the basis of Marxism, in a comradely tone. Continuing his idea about the benefit of constructive discussions, he wrote: "Without a merciless struggle against the degeneration of arguments into a wrangle and squabbles /no/ /in italics/ organization is /possible/ /in italics/."<sup>3</sup> In our opinion, the articles of N. A. Aitov and several other authors, which touch upon the problems of classes and social strata under the conditions of socialism and the development of social differentiation in modern Soviet society, do not meet these requirements.

First of all it is a question of N. A. Aitov's article "On Some Debatable Questions of the Study of the Soviet Intelligentsia" (see SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1979), which is directed against the main theses of my article "The Soviet Intelligentsia and the Main Ways of Its Formation" (see VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 1, 1979).

The point of departure of my article is the following assumption: socialism by its nature does not give rise to new social strata and classes, but is a historical stage in the overcoming of social class differences.

At the basis of N. A. Aitov's argument is the exact opposite assertion that socialism gives rise to new social strata and even classes. He writes: "The notion that socialism does not give rise to new social groups and strata is a metaphysical, oversimplified understanding of the processes of the obliteration of social differences..." (p 32). It seems that there is no need here to explain what a class and a social stratum are. The only correct definition of these fundamental concepts is

in Marxist-Leninist science. It is important to emphasize this, since some supporters of the concept of the appearance of new social strata and even classes under mature socialism claim that it is a matter of words and therefore each person can interpret in his own way the concept "new class" and "new social stratum." Lenin's definition of class and the concept connected with it--the social stratum--are well known. Let us merely recall that each class is at the same time a large social stratum, but not every social stratum is a class. Thus, for example, when we speak about the social structure of Soviet society, we have in mind first of all the working class, the class of the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia as a large social stratum. The intelligentsia never was a class and never will be. It will also disappear as a social stratum in the future communist society.<sup>4</sup>

Any assertion about the appearance of new classes and social strata under socialism in principle is incompatible with the theory and practice of scientific communism and with the international experience of building socialism in the USSR and in other countries of the socialist community. The international experience of building socialism has confirmed the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the worldwide historical process of the gradual elimination of every and all social class differences in society begins with the victory of the socialist revolution. The complete elimination of the exploiting classes and the fundamental qualitative change of the classes of working people--the working class and the peasantry, as well as the intelligentsia as a social stratum--are taking place as a result of the revolutionary transformation of the old society into a new society. An important element of these changes is the overcoming of the internal social heterogeneity of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, the achievement of their social unity and social homogeneity, which corresponds to the socialist stage of development.

It is well known that the working class under capitalism consists of the main trained stratum, the petty bourgeois elements which entered its ranks and the aristocracy of the working class. Socialism is overcoming this internal social heterogeneity and is transforming the working class into a socially homogeneous leading force in the struggle for communism. The movement of society from socialism to communism owing to the educational influence of the leading part of the working class is strengthening and developing the achieved social homogeneity. Therefore the notions of some sociologists about the appearance of new social strata within the working class under the conditions of mature socialism do not conform to real life and the objective laws of the progressive movement of socialist society toward communism.

The achievement of a certain social homogeneity of the socialist working class does not deny the existing intraclass differences. Industrial workers, first of all operatives, are the nucleus of the working class. The importance in the building of communism of other detachments of the working class, including agricultural workers, is also increasing. The scientific and technical revolution is making great changes in the structure of the working class. These changes take the form of the quantitative and qualitative increase of the nucleus of the working class, the appearance of new occupations, the increase of the skills of the majority of workers of all sectors of the national economy and the gradual convergence of the standard of living of the different detachments of the working class. All this is increasing the social unity of the socialist working class and is enhancing its leading role in society. Under these conditions, it seems to us, it is more correct to

speak not about the further social differentiation within the working class, but about its sectorial, occupational and skills structure, with the steady increase of its social and political unity.

Further, it is well known that the working peasantry as an independent class during the period of the transition to socialism was made up of middle peasants, poor peasants and farm laborers. With the building of socialism this internal social heterogeneity of the working peasantry is being overcome. The dialectic approach consists in seeing both the successive link and the qualitative distinctions between the working peasantry of the transitional period and the kolkhoz peasantry of the period of mature socialism. N. A. Aitov looks at this question differently. He writes: "...during the transitional period the peasantry ceased to be a class.... But the kolkhoz peasantry is a new class..." (p 32).

One would like to know: if the peasantry ceased to be a class under the conditions of the transitional period, then with whom did the working class enter into an alliance in the struggle for socialism? It is impossible to answer these and similar questions from the standpoint of the erroneous concept which N. A. Aitov defends.

The kolkhoz peasantry became a socially unified class of socialist society, which is socialist in its nature. And therefore any talk about the appearance of new social strata within the kolkhoz peasantry also does not conform to real life. Of course, within the kolkhoz peasantry there are detachments and various occupational and skill groups which still have a social aspect, since the different occupations and specialties under the conditions of the domination of the unified socialist principle of distribution according to labor govern the different standard of living of the equal workers of society. But these groups cannot be regarded as new social strata. Soviet society is developing in the direction of the strengthening of the achieved social homogeneity. In conformity with this law both the kolkhoz peasantry and the working class, as well as the intelligentsia are proceeding in the direction of the further strengthening of the social homogeneity. And it is impossible to identify the sectorial, skills and occupational differentiation of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia with social differentiation.

The achieved social homogeneity of Soviet society is the result of the revolutionary transformations which occurred as a result of the triumph of socialism. These transformations were also reflected in the social makeup of the peasantry. The internal contradiction of the bulk of the peasantry--the contradiction between small-scale owners and workers--is being overcome during the building of socialism. The peasantry is growing from a petty bourgeois peasantry into a socialist peasantry. And this class is forming not in an empty spot, but on the basis of the revolutionary transformation of the working peasantry of the transitional period.

With the triumph of socialism the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry acquired new social qualities which conform to the essence of the new system. But this does not mean that socialism gives rise to new classes and social strata. Those of our republics, which did not pass through the stages of capitalism and in which, consequently, there was no national detachment of the working class and the intelligentsia, are the exception. They appeared for the first time in the process of building socialism.



In the USSR working class its internationalist nature, organization, discipline and many other qualities, which are characteristic of the world working class as a whole, underwent further development. At the same time under socialism the working class acquired new traits: it became the main subject of the public state ownership of the means of production, the creator of the material and technical base of the new society and the leading force in the struggle for communism.

It is possible to examine the successive link and the qualitative distinction between the working peasantry of the former period and the kolkhoz peasantry of socialist society on the same level. The qualities of a worker, a thrifty owner, the protector of nature have been preserved and are undergoing further development in the kolkhoz peasantry, and new traits are appearing which originated from his transformation into the coowner of public property, a true ally of the working class and the national intelligentsia in their common struggle for communism.

In principle what has been said about the working class and the peasantry also applies to the intelligentsia, the proletariat of which arose within the framework of capitalism, then, in the process of the revolutionary transformation of the old society into a new one, has been transformed into a unified, large and rapidly growing social stratum which has different occupational detachments.

Some of our sociologists believe that it is impossible to group the multimillion army of employees with the category of the intelligentsia because they are not engaged in /complicated/ in boldface mental labor. These authors are forgetting Lenin's words that the intelligentsia includes "representatives of mental labor... in contrast to representatives of physical labor."<sup>5</sup> The Central Statistical Administration is drawing the correct conclusion from Lenin's definition, by including both specialists and employees in the unified social stratum of the intelligentsia.<sup>6</sup> But those who place special emphasis only on "highly developed mental labor" are artificially narrowing the framework of the enormous social stratum of the national intelligentsia, in which along with people of highly developed mental labor there are also large groups of people of mental labor of low and intermediate skill.

N. A. Aitov is opposed to regarding the Soviet intelligentsia as a unified social stratum, as a unified social group. He writes: "...the different groups of workers of mental labor have different trends of development, which does not make it possible to unite them in a single social group" (p 31). In his opinion, the intelligentsia and employees cannot be united in a single social group. And here the occupational and social structures are clearly being confused. Ignoring the data of state statistics, N. A. Aitov claims: "It is impossible to create a science subject to the scales used in statistics" (p 31). Inadequately considered questionnaire surveys are more important for the author than the data of state statistics, which accord with the conclusions of Marxist-Leninist science and the clause of the USSR Constitution that the society of mature socialism consists of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia, which are steadily converging on the basis of the increase of the leading role of the working class.

The gradual elimination of the differences between social strata on the basis of the development of their socialist qualities is taking place under the conditions of mature socialism and the development of the scientific and technical revolution. And



there are no grounds to interpret the increase of the cultural and technical level of the most skilled portion of the workers as the appearance of a new social stratum. But this is precisely the meaning of N. A. Aitov's statement: "...as a result of scientific and technical progress a stratum of the working class appeared, which in the nature of labor and level of education was close to the intelligentsia..."; and further: "All this forces sociologists to make the worker intellectuals into a special stratum of the working class" (pp 31, 32).

Developing the idea about social differentiation which occurs under the conditions of mature socialism, N. A. Aitov writes: "...the social differences between the upper and lower strata of the working class have even increased.... This is then the differentiation as a result of integration" (p 33). And further: "...integration is accompanied by differentiation" (p 34). He believes that such a play on words and the artificial division of the working class into social strata is "the genuine scientific analysis of all... /the/ dialectics of the movement toward social uniformity..." the overcoming of "...metaphysical stereotypes of thinking" (p 34).

In N. A. Aitov's arguments a mixture of various scientific concepts is found. The convergence of classes is explained by him by social integration. But then instead of an analysis of the actual contradictions a purely formal solution of the question is proposed: once there is social integration, there should consequently also be social differentiation. Following this logic, obviously, it is possible to assert that the progressive development of the social structure is at the same time its movement backward, from the achieved social homogeneity to social heterogeneity. Unfortunately, such an approach is also found in F. R. Filippov's article, in which the existence in the USSR of "...the reproduction of socially differentiated groups of the population"<sup>7</sup> is discussed. We see how the deficiencies in the elaboration of a general theory of dialectics are leading some sociologists, who do not have a basic philosophical education, not only to the confusion of different concepts, but also to the invalid transformation of special scientific categories, in this case integration and differentiation, into a universal dialectic law of development.

The development of the social structure of mature socialism is proceeding in the direction of the elimination of the differences between the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and not in the direction of the integration of these social groups. The replacement of the concept "the elimination of social differences" by the concept "social integration" belittles the leading role of the working class in the building of a communist society and the formation of the communist individual. By way of criticism let us note that in our scientific literature the elimination of social differences is often identified with social integration, while the intensification of occupational specialization is identified with social differentiation. Hence follows the erroneous assumption about the differentiation of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia into "socio-occupational groups." We are thoroughly convinced that it is impossible to unite "the social" and "the occupational" in one continuous concept, because in the social area our society is heading toward complete social homogeneity, while in the occupational area it is heading toward the further intensification of specialization in all areas of production, science and so on.

We have touched upon questions which, in our opinion, are incontestable, but, from the point of view of N. A. Aitov and his supporters, are subject to discussion. In

recent years some researchers considered debatable the question of what to call the steadily growing group of workers and peasants, who in their cultural and technical development are gradually approaching the intelligentsia. Some call them a new social stratum, others call them a marginal stratum and so on. But this question has already been solved in the statements of L. I. Brezhnev, who spoke about production workers of a new type, who combine in their activity physical and mental labor.<sup>8</sup>

The point of view that "experienced workers" have already become obsolete, that "the time of experienced workers has passed" (N. A. Aitov); that the promotion system should be regarded as a temporary phenomenon which is checking scientific and technical progress (L. N. Kogan), is unjustified and extremely dangerous. The supporters of such views cannot or do not want to understand that experienced workers cannot become obsolete to the same extent that the principles of socialist social relations and the sovereignty of the people cannot become obsolete. The need to promote the most skilled, organized and practical representatives of the working class and the kolхоз peasantry to a responsible economic and party job ensues precisely from the very essence, the very nature of socialism. They demonstrate the expediency of promotion by daily labor activity and the increase of their cultural and technical level; many of them receive a secondary specialized or higher education without leave from work. To deny this means to deny one of the fundamental advantages of socialism over capitalism.

It must not be forgotten that in our country among those engaged in primarily mental labor 41.1 percent of all the workers did not have a higher, incomplete higher and secondary specialized education.<sup>9</sup> The further relative decrease of the proportion of experienced workers does not change the overall assessment of their place in the building of communism.

In our opinion, attention should be concentrated not on the fact that the promotion system has become obsolete or that it is a temporary phenomenon, but on the need to perform the appropriate organizational work on the improvement of the very practice of promotion. The creation for promoted experienced workers of the best conditions for the increase of their educational, cultural and technical knowledge, and not only in the system of secondary specialized or higher education, merits especially close attention. And of course, they are right who speak about the impermissibility of the mechanical transfer of the practice of promotion of the 1920's and 1930's to the present reality. Promotion as an important progressive process of our society in its development passes through several stages in conformity with the development of the material and technical base and social relations during the periods of the building of socialism and its gradual transition to communism.

Of all the questions raised in the article in question, only the general definition of the Soviet intelligentsia is debatable. N. A. Aitov criticizes the definition given by us, which states: "The Soviet socialist intelligentsia is a massive and rapidly growing unified social stratum of workers of primarily mental labor, which is multinational in composition, international in nature and has many detachments with respect to its occupational structure and which in a stable alliance with the working class and the peasantry is carrying out under the guidance of the Leninist party the building of a communist society."<sup>10</sup> Our opponent believes that this definition also applies to the working class and the peasantry. L. N. Kogan also cited such an argument in his speech at the All-Union Conference in November 1971. But this objection does not refute, rather it confirms the cited definition. For,

first, at the stage of mature socialism /the new and main thing in social development is that the common social traits already prevail over the still existing differences/ [in boldface]. And it is necessary to mention this general thing in the definition of the Soviet intelligentsia, in order to show how it differs from the bourgeois intelligentsia. Second, the specific features of the intelligentsia, which distinguish it from the working class and the peasantry and consist in the fact that the intelligentsia is engaged in primarily mental labor and is the most rapidly growing social stratum, are also indicated in the cited definition. Of course, any scientific definition must be thought about and worked on. But it is not the method of creative discussion to reject from the start what has been achieved by collective efforts, without suggesting anything in return.

The disdainful attitude toward the results of the collective discussion of questions does not embellish N. A. Aitov's article. The point is that this article was published after the holding in June 1979 of the first All-Union Theoretical Science Conference in the history of Soviet science on the place and role of the Soviet intelligentsia in the building of communism. Representatives of nearly all the social sciences from all regions of the country took part in the work of the conference. It was carefully prepared over several years. A special symposium to check the theoretical content of the main reports and speeches was held by way of preparation for the conference. For the purpose of developing the discussions the conference was also conducted in a new way: the reports and speeches, which were published in advance, were sent out two months before its start to all the participants, including N. A. Aitov. The conference heard two speeches, in which the main discussion questions were formulated. They were discussed for three days in a creative and comradely atmosphere: the trends of change in the social structure of mature socialism in general and of the development of the Soviet intelligentsia in particular were examined.

The position of those sociologists who were in the absolute minority at the conference is supported in N. A. Aitov's article. Among them is L. N. Kogan, who in his survey of the work of the first All-Union Conference (see SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1979) also expressed the opinion that it is necessary to support those who stand up for "...one of the directions of the intensively occurring process of social integration in our society" (p 206). While recognizing social integration, L. N. Kogan logically also comes to the conclusion of the development of social differentiation. He writes: "It might seem that at the conference the debate was about words. However, this is not so. It was in fact a question of whether /new strata/ [in italics] can appear at all in our society or whether their appearance is incompatible with the movement toward complete social homogeneity. We assume that the appearance of transitional strata reflects the real processes of the development of the social structure of Soviet society" (p 206).

At the conference this position was criticized by us. It was shown that there are no objective grounds for the claim that social differentiation and the appearance of new social strata, which is connected with it, occur under the conditions of mature socialism. And it is incomprehensible why it was again necessary to defend the mentioned claim.

We should all treat criticism and self-criticism in general and scientific criticism and self-criticism in particular in a Leninist way. Everything correct and

constructive much be taken into account and put into practice and everything erroneous and alien must be rejected. But some of our opponents have proceeded in the direction of intensifying their errors. Thus, for example, V. I. Staroverov in his article "Social Results and Consequences of Interfarm Cooperation and Agro-Industrial Integration" (SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1979), although formally denying the appearance of a new form of property, in essence implies it. This is attested by his assertion about the formation of a new social "marginal" stratum of "peasant-workers," "the development of which reflects one of the directions of social class integration in the present-day countryside. The existence of this stratum stems from the transitional nature of the property itself, on which its labor and consumption are based. We do not agree with the assertion that the process of convergence of the two forms of socialist property cannot serve as the cause for the appearance of new social strata and that the result of this process is not the elimination of the social class division, but its inevitable strengthening" (p 69).

Indeed, /mixed/ in boldface state-kolkhoz enterprises, which denote a higher form of the /convergence/ in boldface of the two forms of socialist property, do appear in the process of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration. This is the economic basis not for the emergence of new social stratum of "peasant-workers," but for the further steady convergence of these classes and the gradual elimination of the differences between them.

Our agriculture is at the initial stages of the process of interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration. With time this process will without fail become universal and predominant, which will serve as an important economic basis of the increase of social homogeneity under the leading role of the working class. Unfortunately, this main principle of the theory of scientific communism on the leading role of the working class is lost sight of by some sociologists, who argue about the appearance of new social marginal strata of "peasant-workers," "worker intellectuals," "worker-peasant intellectuals." The concept is extended by the thesis of social differentiation and integration under the conditions of mature socialism. As an example let us cite the statement of M. N. Rutkevich regarding our article in VOPROSY FILOSOFII. "...Ts. A. Stepanyan writes: 'The incorrectness of the formula about social strata within the working class under socialism must also be noted...'; '...under the conditions of a socially homogeneous socialist society the heterogeneity of the working class no longer assumes the nature of the differences which are defined by the limits of different social strata.'"<sup>11</sup> The following words were omitted in the quotation: "Under the conditions of capitalism within the working class there are indeed different social strata--the aristocracy of the working class, the trained portion of the working class and people who came from the petty bourgeois strata." Further it was omitted that under socialism "the heterogeneity of the working class is connected primarily with the different level of skills of its individual detachments, with the different sources of its reinforcement."

M. N. Rutkevich believes that the acknowledgement of different social strata within the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia fully accords with the assertion about the social homogeneity of mature socialism. He writes: "Socialist society is /homogeneous/ in italics in the respect that there are no larger separating classes in it. But it is at the same time also /heterogeneous/ in italics, since social differences between classes, social groups and strata of workers have been preserved."<sup>12</sup>



What M. N. Rutkevich has described was achieved back in the 1930's, under the conditions of the creation of the foundations of socialism. Moreover, by that time the fundamental differences between the classes of working people and the intelligentsia as a whole had already been overcome, for they had all become socialist in their social nature. But since then enormous changes have occurred in all areas of social life, and first of all a mature socialist society has been created. And this world historic achievement was also reflected in the social development of our country, which found expression /in the enormous internal qualitative and quantitative change of socialist classes and the intelligentsia, which also led to the overcoming of the former social structure of the working class, the kollektive peasantry and the intelligentsia, the decrease of the substantial differences between them and their appreciable convergence, in many ways owing also to the considerable obliteration of the substantial differences between the city and the countryside, between mental and physical labor/ in boldface/. This lively dialectics of the creation of the social homogeneity of socialist society must also be taken into account, in order to get a clear picture of the prospect of achieving complete social homogeneity. The intraclass differences, of course, do have a social aspect, but under the conditions of the already achieved social homogeneity there are no grounds to speak of the existence in them of entire social strata. It is time in sociological science to bring the concepts in line with real life. Party documents and materials of the Central Statistical Administration, in which intraclass differences are specified not with respect to social strata, but with respect to the occupational and skills groups and strata, show examples in this respect.

Speaking about the social unity of our country, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "it finds expression in the indissoluble alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, in the community of the fundamental interests of all social groups and strata, in the gradual obliteration of the substantial differences between the city and the countryside, between mental and physical labor."<sup>13</sup> The movement in the direction of complete social homogeneity requires not the mixing of all the elements of the social structure, but their gradual convergence and the obliteration of the differences between them. As P. N. Fedoseyev quite correctly writes: "The hypotheses about the dissolution of the intelligentsia in the working class and about the transformation of the working class into the intelligentsia have not been corroborated in practice and have not received acknowledgement in theory. Historical experience has corroborated the Marxist-Leninist theses about the gradual establishment of the complete social homogeneity of society by the convergence of socialist classes and social groups."<sup>14</sup> This convergence occurs with the systematic increase of the leading role of the working class /in the development of national state property as the decisive economic basis of all social relations/ in boldface/. The disregard by some sociologists of this underlying and main class-forming attribute and the bringing to the forefront of the nature of labor lead to the artificial mixing of the working class with the intelligentsia. This erroneous conception served as the basis of various attempts to distinguish new social strata in Soviet society.

Of course, in real life in the process of building communism individuals or even entire groups of the working class and the kollektive peasantry pass over to the ranks of the intelligentsia. However, one should not absolutize this /special process/ in boldface/, which is subordinate to general laws, and, forgetting the main class-forming attributes, strive for the mechanical merging of entire



classes and social strata. This would lead to confusion in complicated questions of sociopolitical control under the conditions of mature socialism and the transition to communism. This question is of not only theoretical and political, but also practical importance. Therefore one should not identify the two completely different concepts--"intellectual worker" and "worker intellectual." The former signifies the cultural, technical and spiritual growth of the worker, while the latter signified a social status in the overall sociocultural structure of society. And if in some works the term "worker intellectual" is used, it is only in the sense of the spiritual growth of the worker. But it is impossible to transform this concept into an entire conception and to assert that a new social stratum of "worker intellectuals," "peasant intellectuals" has appeared. The intellectual growth of the working class and the kolkhos peasantry cannot be likened to the merging of these classes with the intelligentsia.

In his speech before the workers of the Ukraine in 1973 L. I. Brezhnev recalled that back at the dawn of the origin of our party V. I. Lenin spoke with respect about "intellectual workers"--the vanguard of its class. Further L. I. Brezhnev noted: "At that time there were still very few of them. But now there are already millions of such workers, and this is quite natural--it is the great achievement of our party, the achievement of socialism. The closer we are to communism, the more fundamental the link will be between physical and mental labor. Even now the worker often operates such large and complex sets of equipment, which earlier not every engineer was able to handle."<sup>15</sup>

Under the conditions of mature socialism the increase of social homogeneity is taking place, and not the development of social differentiation and the appearance on this basis of new social strata/ **/in boldface/**. We find such a judgment in party documents, including the materials of the All-Union Conference of Ideological Workers (October 1979), at which M. A. Suslov said in his report: "In the area of historical materialism and scientific communism such problems as the further increase of the social homogeneity of our society with the leading role of the working class are now being brought to the forefront...."<sup>16</sup> This thesis is a program thesis for all who are called upon to study the dialectics of the transition from the already achieved social homogeneity of mature socialism to the complete social homogeneity of communism. This lively dialectics must be shown on the basis of the study of **/real life, new/ /in boldface/** social processes, **/mass-like facts, the leading trends/ /in boldface/** of social development.

In conclusion let us consider what the causes are of the erroneous views of N. A. Aitov and his supporters on the appearance of new social strata and even classes under the conditions of socialism. First of all let us distinguish a case of a methodological order--the inability or reluctance **/to integrally link Marxist sociology with the theory of scientific communism/ /in boldface/**. This significant shortcoming in concrete sociological research is displayed especially vividly when analyzing the social class structure of socialist society and the prospects of its development.

Only on the basis of unified and integral Marxist-Leninist doctrine is it possible to detect in good time new phenomena and processes, the seeds of the future and visible traits of communism in all areas of public life and to raise boldly and creatively the new problems of mature socialism and the gradual transition to communism.

# FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 22, p 426.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 24, p 166.
3. Ibid.
4. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 44, p 351.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 8, p 309.
6. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR za 60 let. Yubileynyy statisticheskiy vezhgodnik" [The USSR National Economy After 60 Years. Anniversary Statistical Yearbook], Moscow, 1977, p 78.
7. F. R. Filippov, "Study of the Dynamics of Social Structure," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1979, p 194.
8. See L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 625.
9. See "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda" [Results of the 1970 All-Union Census], Vol VI, Moscow, 1973, p 628.
10. Ts. A. Stepanyan, "The Soviet Intelligentsia and the Main Ways of Its Formation," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 1, 1979, p 52.
11. M. N. Rutkevich, "Dialektika i sotsiologiya" [Dialectics and Sociology], Moscow, 1980, p 288.
12. Ibid.
13. L. I. Brezhnev, "Nash kurs--mirnoye sozidaniye" [Our Policy Is Peaceful Construction], Moscow, 1980, p 6.
14. P. N. Fedoseyev, "Marksizm v XX veke" [Marxism in the 20th Century], 2d edition, Moscow, 1977, p 605.
15. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, p 223.
16. M. A. Suslov, "A Matter of the Entire Party," KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1979, p 29.

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#### FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 88-95

#### /Editorial/

/Text/ The documents of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee of recent years, in which the importance of studying these problems, primarily the questions which pertain to the formation of the social homogeneity of Soviet society, are of particular methodological importance for the description of the social structure of the mature socialist society and the trends of its change.

One of the main directions of this process is the overcoming of the social differences between workers of physical and mental labor. Therefore the increase of the size and proportion of the intelligentsia, the change of its internal structure, the increase of its role in solving the problems of building communism, the strengthening of its alliance with the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry--all this is attracting the attention of Soviet social scientists. In recent years much has been done for the theoretical analysis of the named problems. At the same time it is impossible to form an adequately complete idea about the far-reaching processes taking place in life, to reveal the contradictions in them and to outline ways to resolve them without massive and regularly conducted sociological studies.

In conformity with the specialization of our journal, which is dictated by the specific nature of Marxist-Leninist sociological science, in the published materials we have tried and are trying to combine theoretical analysis, which is made from the standpoint of historical materialism and the theory of scientific communism, with the empirical study of social processes. Both dogmatic, scholastic theorizing, which is divorced from the facts, from the knowledge of reality in all its complexity and contradictoriness, and narrow empiricism, which is not able or is reluctant to see in the social facts obtained by science the objective trends and laws of social development, are equally alien to Marxism.

It is quite natural that as knowledge is gained, discussions on individual questions arise among Soviet Marxist scholars. Scientific periodicals are called upon to promote these discussions on the condition that they are conducted on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology, with the observance of the norms of criticism accepted in our science.

For these reasons the editorial board considered it possible to publish the article of Professor N. A. Aitov (No 3, 1979), in which the author questioned some theses of Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ts. A. Stepanyan. His article in reply is published in this issue without any changes and abridgments. At the same time the editorial board considers itself entitled to make some remarks in connection with this article, bearing in mind that a scientific discussion cannot have a clearly marked end only in the very fact of a scientific debate. The further, balanced analysis of the points of view, which is free of the emotions inevitable in a debate, the search for means to bring them closer and the separation, as is correctly noted in the very title of Ts. A. Stepanyan's article, of incontestable truths from assumptions, which are still debatable, are necessary.

On New Classes and Strata Under Socialism. In Ts. A. Stepanyan's article the following thesis is placed at the center of the discussion: "Does socialism give rise to new classes and strata?" This question indeed requires solving, and it should take into account specific historical conditions, the substantial differences between social processes, on the one hand, during the transitional period and, on the other, at the stage of mature socialism. Moreover, how each of the authors interprets the concept "gives rise to" should be analyzed.

The fundamental principle of the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes is that classes are connected with historically specific phases of the development of production, with a specific system of production relations.<sup>1</sup> With a change of the mode of production new classes also appear. The triumph of socialism as the first phase of communism signifies the establishment of a new mode of production. But there is a fundamental difference here from the emergence of preceding formations, which is correctly noted in Ts. A. Stepanyan's article: "The worldwide historical process of the gradual elimination of every and all social class differences in society */begins/* */in italics/* (the italics are ours--editorial board) with the victory of the socialist revolution." However, this process includes the stage of the transformation of the working class from an exploited class into a qualitatively new class of socialist society, which is free from exploitation, the stage of the transformation of the peasantry from a class of small-scale producers into a class which is linked with socialist cooperative property. The nature of the intelligentsia, which is transformed into a truly national, socialist intelligentsia, also changes accordingly. Thus, as a result of building the foundations of socialism a qualitatively new social class structure emerges. This fact was recorded in party documents of the 1930's, including the resolutions of the 18th party congress.<sup>2</sup>

N. A. Aitov makes a mistake (and this is noted by Ts. A. Stepanyan), when he asserts that "during the transitional period the peasantry ceased to be a class and became an occupational group of agricultural workers, which united the bourgeoisie (the kulaks), the petty bourgeoisie (the middle peasants), the proletariat and the semiproletariat (the farm laborers and the poor peasants)."<sup>3</sup> He does not take into account that even before the revolution the kulaks were included by Marxists in the class of the bourgeoisie, while the farm laborers were included in the rural proletariat, the middle peasants and the poor peasants were understood as the peasantry (the latter were also regarded as the semiproletariat). But Ts. A. Stepanyan's assertion that "new classes and social strata do not emerge under socialism" is not characterized by strict correctness without a more accurate definition of the term "gives rise to." For in our literature it is recognized as legitimate also to say that the Great



October Socialist Revolution created a qualitatively new type of social relations and that it transformed them qualitatively. In the former case, apparently, one must speak of the creation of qualitatively new classes and in the latter about the radical transformation of the classes of working people and the intelligentsia of capitalist society. As we see, the debate is transformed into a clash of two terminological designations of the same process and, accordingly, of two understandings of the term "gives rise to" or of the concept related to it "creates." If the radical qualitative transformation is regarded as the appearance of something new, then one must admit that N. A. Aitov is correct, if it is regarded only as the development of what already exists, then Ts. A. Stepanyan is right. Consequently, in order to conclude the discussion, here we must first determine the meaning of the terms being used. For N. A. Aitov and his supporters it is completely defined, in the article published above it is contradictory, which may also stimulate the discussion on this question.

On the Social Homogeneity and Heterogeneity of Society Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism. In Soviet scientific literature it is generally acknowledged that social homogeneity is achieved already at the first phase of communism--in the respect that the exploiting classes and along with them class antagonism are eliminated, that all classes, social groups and strata consist of workers. This is true for both the stage of the building of socialism on the whole and for the stage of mature, developed socialism. In the statement of M. S. Rutkevich, which Ts. A. Stepanyan cited, it is a matter of socialism as a whole, as a phase of the development of a new society. But this, of course, does not mean that the degree of achieved social homogeneity is the same at both stages. It increases, which finds expression in the achievement by society at the stage of mature socialism of a fundamental integrity of the system of social relations, which is emphasized by both M. N. Rutkevich and other authors.

But even at this stage complete social homogeneity has not yet been achieved, since differences are still preserved between the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia, between the strata within them. The development of mature socialist society into a communism society, during which both interclass and intraclass differences are overcome, signifies the intensification, the increase of social homogeneity. This objective process is directed and intensified by the effect of a subjective factor, first of all the social policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. "The state," it is stated in Article 19 of the USSR Constitution, "promotes the increase of social homogeneity."<sup>4</sup>

The one-sided emphasis of the achieved degree of the social homogeneity and the social unity of Soviet society while glossing over the incompleteness of this homogeneity, and thereby the existence of some differences between classes, social groups and strata, in our opinion, is just as illegitimate as the disregard of the fact of social homogeneity of the socialist type.

On Intraclass Strata in the Mature Socialist Society. Many authors note the existence of such strata. Thus, V. S. Semenov correctly emphasizes that the social stratum is */a part of a class/* *[in italics]*.<sup>5</sup> A. A. Anvrosov directs attention to the dialectic interrelationship of interclass and intraclass differences.<sup>6</sup> Sociological studies give a concrete characterization of intraclass strata. A certain internal differentiation is characteristic not only of the working class

and the kolkhoz peasantry, but also of the intelligentsia. Let us turn to its structure, for the controversy is first of all over it.

In N. A. Aitov's article (as, incidentally, in other publications of our journal, in which these questions are elaborated on the basis of concrete sociological material)<sup>8</sup> there is no denial of the fact that the intelligentsia in Soviet society is a unified social group. But does this unity mean the complete absence in this group of any social differences? The complex internal structure of the intelligentsia is a fact that is widely acknowledged in Soviet sociology. The division of the entire population of workers of mental labor (the intelligentsia in the broad sense) into specialists and employees is one of the most important "slices," "cross sections" of this structure. The difference between them arises under the conditions of capitalism. V. I. Lenin noted back in the early 20th century: "Capitalism in all areas of national labor increases especially rapidly the number of /employees/ */in italics/*, makes a greater and greater demand for the /intelligentsia/ */in italics/*."<sup>9</sup> And later Lenin writes about "this latter one" (thereby distinguishing the intelligentsia and employees) that it attaches itself in part to the bourgeoisie and in part to the proletariat. This distinction is also made in the post-October works of V. I. Lenin and in the documents of the CPSU. Thus, in the letter of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of 27 July 1921 to the party cells on the purge of the party it was noted: "At the same time an enormous evolution is taking place in the ranks of the service element, the intelligentsia and the semi-intelligentsia." And later the "service element" is interpreted as "Soviet employees."<sup>10</sup> In the resolution of the 14th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) the admission of employees and intellectuals to the party and so on is discussed.<sup>11</sup>

Such a division exists to this day, and the demarcation of workers of mental labor into two main groups has been made in party documents up until recent times. Speaking at the 16th Congress of Trade Unions of the USSR, L. I. Brezhnev said: "Among the congress delegates there are many figures of science, culture, technology and art." And later, in characterizing another group of delegates: "That large stratum of working people, whom as a whole we call employees and whose activity is necessary in any area of social life, is also represented here."<sup>12</sup>

The differences in the views of Soviet sociologists on this question also pertain rather to the area of terminology. Some scientists allow the use of the concept "intelligentsia" in the narrow sense, which is equivalent to the concept "specialists." For example, V. S. Semenov writes about the stratum of "the intelligentsia and employees."<sup>13</sup> Of course, terminological differences are permissible within certain limits. At the same time real social facts should be reflected in the concepts, in this case the objective differences within the army of workers of mental labor. It is also necessary to consider that the term "the intelligentsia" in both scientific and political literature is used in both the broad and the narrow senses; that statistics implies by specialists the people who have diplomas for a higher or secondary specialized education; that in questionnaires and census sheets all workers of primarily mental labor are designated by the term "employees." However, for all this in sociological studies and publications it is necessary to strive for the most correct usage of the terms "specialists" and "employees," which reflect the real internal structure of the workers of mental labor.

It is clear that the mentioned division does not exhaust all the strata and detachments which are included in this social community. Each of them is sufficiently specific, which is important to take into account both in research work and in practical activity.

The need to take into account the specific interests of the social groups of Soviet society has been repeatedly indicated in party documents of late. This was discussed in the accountability reports of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th and 25th party congresses.<sup>14</sup> At the same time it is emphasized that the party is capable "of noticing, analyzing and resolving in good time the contradictions" which arise during the progressive development of Soviet society. "Owing precisely to it," Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. A. Suslov notes, "the nonantagonistic contradictions of socialism can be successfully identified and overcome, without using forms which hamper the matter of building socialism and communism."<sup>15</sup>

**The Movement Toward Social Homogeneity and Marginal Strata.** The question of marginal strata and, in particular, of a stratum of worker intellectuals (the term was introduced in scientific literature in the early 1960's and since then has become widespread) continues to be discussed with animation. In the opinion of Ts. A. Stepanyan, it is illegal to speak of marginal strata which arise in the process of moving toward complete social homogeneity and about worker intellectuals. It should be noted, however, that this concept is accepted not only by specialists in sociology: it appears in the works of prominent social scientists and prominent figures of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Thus, in a recently published collective work it is stated: "...The worker intellectual is becoming a typical figure of modern socialist production."<sup>16</sup> The authors devote much attention to integration processes in the social structure of Soviet society, or, as they put it, "social diffusion."<sup>17</sup> The existence of a new stratum of worker intellectuals is also noted in a book of V. V. Shcherbitskiy.<sup>18</sup>

During the further development of science, of course, other terms for designating this phenomenon might also be suggested, but the very fact of its existence can hardly be questioned. The point is that, as L. I. Brezhnev noted, "under the conditions of mature socialism and under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution a production worker of a new type is arising, in whose activity physical and mental labor are being combined more and more harmoniously."<sup>19</sup>

It is well known that absolutely clear boundaries do not exist either in nature or in society.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the movement toward social homogeneity involves a certain extension of the sphere of marginal phenomena.

What has been said pertains not only to the strata of worker intellectuals and peasant intellectuals, but also to the stratum of workers who are employed at interfarm kolkhoz-state associations. The point of view of V. I. Staroverov, who called the last stratum "worker-peasants," should also be interpreted in light of this. In this author's article "Social Results and Consequences of Interfarm Cooperation and Agro-Industrial Integration" (SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1979) it is by no means claimed that as a result of the named processes a new form of property is appearing, it is merely stated that "the property of kolkhoz-state associations is one of the transitional forms of unified national property, which occupies an intermediate position between the main forms of socialist property and is

integrally connected with them" (p 69). Many researchers hold a similar point of view,<sup>21</sup> correctly believing that "the examination of the relations of socialist property in a fixed, invariable expression of their essence would be at variance with dialectics and would signify an attempt to replace the dialectic method of cognition with metaphysics."<sup>22</sup>

The conclusion that the real processes of the improvement of socialist property by interfarm cooperation and agro-industrial integration are accompanied by the appearance of new social groups of a transitional nature, is also widespread. Although in the article in question Ts. A. Stepanyan does not agree with all this, such a point of view is in fact cited in a book published in Kishinev under his editorship. Noting that "the emergence of a new social category of workers, who with respect to working conditions are close to industrial workers, was a consequence of the development of interfarm enterprises, complexes and associations," the authors further distinguish in this category two new social groups. One of them is the workers of interkolkhoz enterprises, who are "the group of the kolkhoz peasantry, which is closest to the working class." The other is "workers of mixed state-kolkhoz enterprises and organizations. This detachment includes both workers and kolkhoz farmers, who are integrally connected with both state and cooperative property. These working people combine the traits of workers and kolkhoz farmers and reflect the process of overcoming the social differences between two friendly classes of socialist society."<sup>23</sup> It is possible to call the new groups in question not "worker-peasants," but something else (the discussion participants did not state anywhere that they permit only such a name), the main thing is that the process of their formation is under way and, consequently, it must be studied.

The Question of "Experienced Workers." It is a question here of people holding positions of specialists, without having the corresponding diploma. In Ts. A. Stepanyan's article a direct parallel is cited between the existence of "experienced workers" and democracy in socialist society. What is the situation in reality?

The problem of "experienced workers" and their gradual replacement by specialists with a diploma is far from identical to the problem of the promotion to managerial positions of those workers, peasants and intellectuals, who enjoy the trust of working people, have the necessary organizing talents and skillfully implement party policy. Back in the 1920's, when the promotion system acquired an extensive scope, it presumed the creation for those recommended for administrative positions of the conditions for receiving the appropriate education. Thus, in the decree of the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) in 1929 it was noted: "The promotion of workers to an administrative and engineering job is to be linked with measures which would provide the people being promoted with an opportunity to study in their speciality in special courses, at tekhnikums and so on."<sup>24</sup> The two named processes must especially be distinguished under present conditions. The promotion of working people, including workers and kolkhoz farmers, to elected positions in the soviets of people's deputies, public and cooperative organizations was and remains one of the main principles of socialist democracy. As for the filling of positions requiring special knowledge, it is accomplished subject to the availability of such specialists, and the political aspect of the problem consists not in the fact that experienced workers are used along with them, but in how effectively and with what quality a person fulfills the duties which have been entrusted to him by the party and the people.



Ts. A. Stepanyan is correct in asserting that the mechanical transfer of the methods of the promotion system of the 1920's and 1930's to current conditions is inadmissible. But this merely confirms the view that "experienced workers" among specialists are only a temporary phenomenon, which was brought about by deficiencies in the training and recruitment of personnel and is gradually being eliminated.

In the Accounting Report to the 23d Party Congress L. I. Brezhnev said: "The country is drawing personnel for economic, party, state, diplomatic and military work and all public activity primarily from among specialists trained at the higher school."<sup>25</sup> In the Accountability Report to the 25th CPSU Congress it was also noted that at present practically all executive party personnel, from the secretaries of the rayon committees and city committees of the party and up, have a higher education, and the majority of them are specialists of industry and agriculture, and that "we must pursue this policy henceforth with even greater persistence."<sup>26</sup>

Some Questions of the Organization of Scientific Discussions. These questions are also broached in Ts. A. Stepanyan's article. He touches, in particular, upon the All-Union Scientific Conference on Problems of the Intelligentsia, which was held in Novosibirsk in June 1979. Information on it has already been published on the pages of our journal (No 4, 1979). While giving full credit to the overall positive significance of the discussions held in Novosibirsk, we, of course, could not ignore the inadequate involvement of sociologists, economists, lawyers, experienced workers and the representatives of various scientific schools both in the preparation of the conference and in its work. Attention was also directed to this in the decree of the Academic Council of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences of 5 December 1979, which addressed to the Bureau of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences the request to examine this question at one of its meetings. The reproach of N. A. Aitov, that he "supports the position of those sociologists who were in the minority at the conference" sounds strange in light of what has been said. It is well known that scientific truth is not ascertained by a vote.

The editorial board supports Ts. A. Stepanyan's appeal to conduct discussions in a comradely tone, in a concrete manner and from a constructive position. Meanwhile both in the article which served as a pretext for N. A. Aitov's statement and in the book on the results of the conference in Kishinev it is possible to find many such examples, for instance, of a "comradely tone": "the identification of the laws of the social development of the two opposing systems--socialism and capitalism" is typical of some sociologists, for they understand sociology "as the science of society, regardless of classes and the sociopolitical system, a science which is ostensibly independent of Marxism-Leninism and stands above them"; our enemies "are trying to make use of the deviations of some Soviet authors from the fundamental positions of Marxism-Leninism. This especially pertains to some works of sociologists, who blindly copy the methods and techniques of American empirical sociology, diverge from the fundamental founding principles of historical materialism and scientific communism" and so on.<sup>27</sup> Here references are given to works, the names of whose authors we do not cite, but it is a question of well-known Soviet scholars and colleagues of Ts. A. Stepanyan.

Such a style of "criticism" is characteristic of many materials for the conference in Novosibirsk. Thus, in one of the collections sociologists are accused of the fact that they ostensibly "mechanically transfer western theories of stratification

from bourgeois soil to Soviet soil," "transfer bourgeois concepts in a methodologically untenable way...", place sociology "outside Marxism or above Marxism" and so on and so forth.<sup>28</sup>

We do not share the opinion that the position of a scientist in a scientific debate is determined by his affiliation with one discipline or another, but it is unquestionable that the methods and results of each science can substantially enrich the discussion and increase the scientific significance of its results. It is especially important to recall all this right now, during the period of active national preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress, when it is necessary to mobilize all scientific forces in the interests of the specific high-quality solution of the new problems which life and the practice of building communism are raising for science.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], 2d edition, Vol 28, p 427; V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 39, p 15.
2. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee], Vol 5, Moscow, 1971, pp 366-367.
3. SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1979, p 32.
4. "Konstitutsiya (Osnovnoy Zakon) Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" [The Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics], Moscow, 1977, p 12.
5. See V. S. Semenov, "Dialektika razvitiya sotsial'noy struktury sovetskogo obshchestva" [Dialectics of the Development of the Social Structure of Soviet Society], Moscow, 1977, p 51 and elsewhere.
6. See A. A. Amvrosov, "Ot klassovoy differentsiatsii k sotsial'noy odnorodnosti obshchestva" [From the Class Differentiation to the Social Homogeneity of Society], Moscow, 1978, p 195.
7. See "Sotsial'naya struktura razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva v SSSR" [Social Structure of the Mature Socialist Society in the USSR], Moscow, 1976; O. I. Shkaratan, "Promyshlennoye predpriyatiye" [The Industrial Enterprise], Moscow, 1978, and others.
8. See the selection of articles on the intelligentsia in No 2, 1980.
9. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 4, p 209.
10. See "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, pp 273, 275.
11. Ibid., Vol 3, p 185.

12. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskii kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 321.
13. See V. S. Semenov, Op. cit., p 47.
14. See L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskii kursom," Vol 3, pp 274-275; Vol 5, p 533.
15. M. A. Suslov, "The Historic Correctness of the Ideas and Cause of Lenin," KOMMUNIST, No 4, 1980, p 18.
16. "Razvitoi sotsializm: problemy teorii i praktiki" [Mature Socialism: Problems of Theory and Practice], Moscow, 1979, p 200.
17. Ibid., p 203.
18. See V. V. Shcherbitskiy, "XXV s"yezd KPSS o sovershenstvovanii sotsialisticheskogo obraza zhizni i formirovanii novogo cheloveka" [The 25th CPSU Congress on the Improvement of the Socialist Way of Life and the Formation of the New Man], Moscow, 1977, p 34.
19. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskii kursom," Vol 6, p 625.
20. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 527.
21. See "Problemy kompleksnogo razvitiya sel'skogo khozyaystva" [Problems of the Comprehensive Development of Agriculture], Moscow, 1974, p 495; "Sovershenstvovaniye agrarnykh otnosheniy v usloviyakh razvitoi sotsializma" [The Improvement of Agrarian Relations Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism], Moscow, 1978, p 17.
22. P. A. Ignatovskiy, "Ekonomicheskiye voprosy teorii i praktiki sotsializma" [Economic Problems of the Theory and Practice of Socialism], Moscow, 1979, p 107.
23. "Sotsial'no-politicheskiye, ekonomicheskiye i pravovyye problemy sblizheniya dvukh form sotsialisticheskoy sobstvennosti" [Sociopolitica: Economic and Legal Problems of the Convergence of the Two Forms of Socialist Property], Ts. A. Stepanyan, editor in chief, Vol 1, Kishinev, 1979, pp 213-214.
24. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh...", Vol 4, Moscow, 1970, p 91.
25. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskii kursom," Vol 1, p 338.
26. Ibid., Vol 5, p 529.
27. "Sotsial'no-politicheskiye, ekonomicheskiye i pravovyye problemy sblizheniya dvukh form sotsialisticheskoy sobstvennosti," pp 61-62, 65, 67.
28. See "Nekotoryye teoreticheskiye problemy formirovaniya i razvitiya sovetskoy intelligentsii na putyakh k kommunizmu" [Some Theoretical Problems of the Formation and Development of the Soviet Intelligentsia on the Path to Communism], Moscow, 1979, pp 6, 8, 11-12, 23 and elsewhere.

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CSO: 1806

APPLIED RESEARCH

STEREOTYPES OF BEHAVIOR: DISCERNMENT AND INTERPRETATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 96-102

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Gennadiy Semenovich Ratygin, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF A REGION AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 103-108

[Article by Doctor of Legal Sciences Inga Borisovna Mikhaylovskaya, chief of a department of the Scientific Center for the Study of Problems of Administration of the Academy of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Anatoliy Vasil'yevich Vozyak, chief of a department of the Administration of Internal Affairs of the Sumskaya Oblast Soviet Executive Committee]

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TEEN-AGER IN FRONT OF THE TELEVISION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 109-112

/Article by M. S. Resenchuk/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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FACTS, COMMENTARIES, NOTES (FROM THE WORKTABLE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST)

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF YOUNG WORKERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 113-114

/Article by F. M. Ayev/

/Not translated by JPRS/

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ON THE INFLUENCE OF WORKING CONDITIONS ON THE TURNOVER OF PERSONNEL IN THE CHEMICAL  
INDUSTRY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 115-117

[Article by I. I. Dvlgalevich, N. V. Zavriyeva, V. P. Plisko and N. M. Shul'ga]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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SOME INDICATORS OF THE SOCIOCULTURAL ACTIVITY OF WORKERS AND ENGINEERING AND  
TECHNICAL PERSONNEL OF ESTONIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 118-120

[Article by Kh. P. Koytla]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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INTERCOURSE BETWEEN NATIONS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 121-122

[Article by O. M. Guseynov]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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THE CHILD IN A TROUBLED FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 123-125

[Article by L. M. Sazonova]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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STIMULATION OF THE BIRTH RATE IN THE GDR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 126-128

[Article by I. Gizi and V. Schpaigner]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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PECULIARITIES OF THE CONSUMPTION OF ART IN MODERN SWEDEN

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 129-132

[Article by V. G. Golovanova]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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## METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

### MULTIDIMENSIONAL TYPOLOGY OF THE PASTIME

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 133-140

/Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Vasiliiy Dmitriyevich Patrushev, chief of the Sector of Budgets of Time of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Galina Galeyevna Tatarova, senior engineer of the Department of Methodology, Methods and Mathematical Analysis of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Economic Sciences Yuliana Nikolayevna Tolstova, senior research associate of the Department of Methodology, Methods and Mathematical Analysis of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

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CSO: 1806

## SCIENTIFIC JOURNALISM

### SOCIOLOGY OF ANTIDETENTE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 141-150

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Gennadiy Vasil'yevich Osipov, chief of the Department of the History and Theory of Sociology of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Pafnutiy Ivanovich Kapyrin, senior research associate-consultant of the Department of Sociological Problems of Propaganda of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Nikolay Tikhonovich Kremlev, junior research associate of the Department of the History and Theory of Sociology of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences

/Text/ The fruitfully developing cooperation among sociologists of various countries is promoting a better understanding of their peoples and the affirmation of the ideas of humanism and social progress. At the same time, however, in the West attempts are made at times to use sociology for the fomenting of hostility among peoples, the struggle against detente and the substantiation of the militaristic aspiration of reactionary circles.

Zbigniew Brzezinski holds a prominent place among the "theorists of antidetente." The scientific value of his sociological concepts is comparatively small, and it would be possible not to dwell specially on them, if he had not attempted to use them as the basis of U.S. foreign policy and had not used them in his speeches against disarmament. But since such attempts are being made, the analysis of these concepts may be of some use to the public.

Brzezinski's views and ideological aspirations formed long before the start of his political career. Back in the 1950's he showed himself to be a convinced anticommunist and anti-Soviet. In a joint book with C. Friedrich, in attempting to slander Marxist-Leninist ideology, the CPSU and Soviet power, he used for defining the USSR political system the term "totalitarianism," which was spread by Mussolini.<sup>1</sup> In a work of the same time, "Permanent Purge," relying primarily on the foul creations of anti-Soviet-minded western "Sovietologists" and renegades who had left the USSR, Brzezinski tried to prove that the isolated violations of the principles of socialist democracy, which occurred in the past, are "an integral attribute" of Soviet society.<sup>2</sup>

What fabrications there were in this book! The Soviet state was accused of conservatism, despotism, tyranny, the incapability for fundamental changes in the

political organization of society.<sup>3</sup> Pretending not to see that during World War II 20 million Soviet people gave their lives to save mankind from the brown plague, the American sociologist ventured to place an equal sign between the Soviet system and fascism. Concocting one picture more frightening than the next, he armed himself against these imaginary "outlines" of our reality. In his day V. I. Lenin characterized such exercises very aptly: "...The old trick of the reactionaries is first to distort socialism, having ascribed nonsense to it, and then to triumphantly refute the absurdities!"<sup>4</sup>

With the years Brzezinski's hatred of the USSR and the international revolutionary movement and his fear of communism grew. When reissuing in 1962 his book "The Soviet Bloc. Unity and Conflict" he added to it a chapter in which he openly went into raptures over Sino-Soviet differences.<sup>5</sup> Newer and newer anticommunist attacks were included in subsequent editions. In one of the introductions Brzezinski lets it out that he is interested first of all in the "conflict" in the communist camp.<sup>6</sup> A "scientific strategy" for undermining the socialist system was developed in this book in the hope of the "evolution," the development of socialism into capitalism. The author attempted in every possible way to discredit the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Pact and to accuse the Soviet Union and the CPSU of imposing its will on the socialist states and Communist Parties of other countries. He also did not conceal his hopes for failures of the socialist countries, asserting that communism is not monolithic and that ostensibly the industrial proletariat and communist ideology are suffering defeat.<sup>7</sup>

Ignoring the achievements of the communist and working class movement and not taking into account the fact of the strengthening of the economic and political ties of the states of the socialist community, Brzezinski hopes for an "evolution" of our ideology, which, in his opinion, is manifested in the "relativization" of communist ideas. He relies on the "infectious attractiveness" of the capitalist way of life and on the detachment of the countries of Eastern Europe from the socialist community by drawing them into various political and economic agreements with the bourgeois states of Western Europe and demands the revision of Marxism-Leninism and the rejection of the theory of class struggle.

In addition to voluminous lampoons on the USSR, Brzezinski also wrote short articles, the anticommunist, anti-Soviet orientation of which was obvious. In 1962 he combined five such articles into the collection "Ideology and Power in Soviet Politics." In one of them Brzezinski again asserts that "purge and terror are attributes of the Soviet system," while communism is a "utopia,"<sup>8</sup> in another he went so far as to say that he compared Soviet power with "autocracy," while the origin of the "autocratic traditions" went back to tsarism. The collection is full of attacks on the Soviet system and hopes for the "erosion" of the socialist system. While ascribing nationalist tendencies to all Communist Parties without furnishing proof, he recommended that the western powers pursue a policy of division of the socialist countries by stirring up nationalist passions in them, thereby having then already subordinated his sociological works to the demands of imperialist policy.

A new book published by Brzezinski in 1963 under the coauthorship of Samuel Huntington and at the expense of the well-known centers of anticommunism--the Russian Institute and the Institute of War of Columbia University--candidly attested to the intensification of the anti-Soviet and militaristic trends in his activity.

In the book, which was conceived as a comparative study of USSR politics in the United States,<sup>9</sup> it was asserted that the Soviet and American governments are rivals and that such rivalry can by no means be considered the peaceful competition of two different socio-economic systems, therefore the United States sees in the USSR its enemy. In this connection the authors expressed readiness to provide the United States (and in fact American imperialism) with "sociological knowledge" about the Soviet Union.

The result of any comparison of Soviet and American politics and ideology in the book is predetermined: everything American is good, everything Soviet is bad. Only the acknowledgment of the existence of racism in the United States, which was done, it is true, in a little convincing form, with the obvious desire to gloss over the fact of discrimination against more than 30 million Negroes and Indians, is an exception. Brzezinski devotes considerable attention to the "theory of convergence," which was formulated back in 1944 by the well-known Pitirim Sorokin. The latter "proved" that American and Soviet society are as if gradually converging, are becoming similar and in the end will turn into a new structure—one that is neither capitalist nor communist. Brzezinski and his coauthor, in "developing" this "theory," attempted to show the inessentiality of such a "convergence" of the USSR and the United States as a result of the "evolution" of the Soviet system, the "modernization" of Soviet society and its transformation into a capitalist society similar to American society, which is passed off as the "standard" of the social system.<sup>10</sup>

Brzezinski also develops this theme in subsequent years. His book "Alternative to Partition. For a Broader Conception of America's Role in Europe" was published in 1965. In it he attempted to convince the readers that "the division of Europe along the Elbe is unnatural, unhistorical," and therefore it is necessary to "connect" it by "bridges,"<sup>11</sup> for which it is necessary "to ensure the main prospect for Soviet and East European evolution,"<sup>12</sup> that is, the reversal of the system of socialism, to capitalism.

Brzezinski tries to persuade the readers: the initiative to unite Europe should come from the West, first of all the United States; with respect to the Soviet Union it is necessary to adhere to a hard line; the West should coordinate its efforts in the face of imaginary "Soviet aggression." An important role in achieving this goal, in his opinion, has to be played by "all-European formations" operating under the aegis of the United States. True to his anticommunist views, Brzezinski ignores the organization of Warsaw Pact countries and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which, in defiance of his wish, are playing an increasing role in the life of the peoples of Europe. He does not conceal his hopes not only for the "evolution" of the socialist countries, but also for counterrevolutionary rebellions similar to the one which ended in a disgraceful fiasco in Hungary.

With the publication of the book "Alternative to Partition" its author acquired the questionable reputation of a "political adviser" who gives practical recommendations to his master--American imperialism. He advances a plan to create a "Great Europe," a certain "cooperative association," a socio-economic-political alliance, to which Western Europe and the "converged" Eastern Europe should belong, and calls upon the United States to promote "evolutionary" changes, that is, the rejection of socialism in these countries, resorting for this to such means as the playing on nationalistic feelings, the creation of "revisionist sentiments" and even military



intervention in the affairs of the socialist countries. He regretfully reproaches his imperialist patrons: "The United States has not freed a single socialist state."<sup>13</sup> The proposed directions of "the American search for a world order" should, in Brzezinski's opinion, ensure the elimination of the threat of the "Soviet bloc," and more precisely, should promote the establishment of the hegemony of the United States.

In the field of sociology Brzezinski acts not only as an author, but also as the editor of works which are permeated with anti-Sovietism, militarism and nationalism. In particular, together with M. Painsod, B. Meissner, L. Shapiro, G. Wetter and other "Marxologists," "Leninologists" and "Sovietologists" he was a member of the editorial board of the eight-volume encyclopedia "Marxism, Communism and Western Society."<sup>14</sup> In exalting capitalism and belittling socialism in every possible way, the authors of this publication shamelessly slander the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The socialist system is presented as "an historical anomaly" and is endowed with such negative traits, "immanent, typical shortcomings" as in reality it never had and cannot have.

The term "cool war" is made use of by this encyclopedia for the purpose of evoking among the readers skepticism about the process of detente and showing the instability, the reversibility of the relaxation of the political climate on the planet. The "de-ideologization" of Soviet society is declared in it to be an indispensable condition of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. On its pages a certain (G. Lalua) reproaches our country for the lack of even attempts "to realize coexistence," since the USSR does not renounce communist ideas.

Brzezinski is attempting to spread his political convictions throughout the world. In the collection "Africa and the Communist World,"<sup>15</sup> which he prepared for the Hoover Institute of War, Revolution and Peace, the authors, who are frightened by the successes of the socialist countries in establishing friendly relations with many young states of Africa and by the attractiveness of communist ideas for the peoples of this continent, brazenly distort the essence of the policy of the socialist countries, unfoundedly accusing them of self-interest and of the fact that in establishing friendly relations with African countries they are first of all pursuing political goals and deriving economic advantage.<sup>16</sup>

Even when addressing, it would seem, extremely scientific problems, for example, the division of social history into periods, Brzezinski pursues the same goal--to slander socialism. Together with R. Aaron, D. Bell and other bourgeois scholars he rejects the Marxist-Leninist division of social history into periods and places merely the development of technology as the basis of his sociological conceptions of social progress ("traditional society"--"transitional society"--"industrial society"--"postindustrial society"). "Today," Brzezinski writes, "the most industrially developed countries (and first of all the United States) are beginning to emerge from the industrial stage of their development. They are entering an age in which technology and especially electronics (hence my neologism 'technotronics') are becoming to an exceptional degree the determinants of social change, altering more and more the social structure, values and general view of society."<sup>17</sup>

The author needs theoretical arguments about the "technotronic era" to justify the pretensions of American imperialism to world domination. "The United States," it



is stressed in the book, "is the main universal spreader of the technotronic revolution." It is "a world social laboratory," "a symbol of the new form of social organization," a society which has "social health and democratic freedom."<sup>18</sup> The technotronic society ostensibly has all the worldly benefits, while its citizens are distributed on the social ladder according to their merits. Brzezinski, naturally, ascribes the greatest merits to the capitalists and their lackeys from among the scientific and technical specialists.

Likening the development of technotronic society to the growth of a large "global city" with the trends of social changes which are characteristic of a city, Brzezinski attempts to justify the coercion used by imperialist regimes in suppressing social unrest in cities and to prove the need for the use of such methods for eliminating international conflicts, the need for U.S. interference in the domestic affairs of other states. "Only America," he subsequently repeated, "has the power to reorganize the world hostile to it after its own fashion."<sup>19</sup> He places great hopes in this connection on "global arms" which, in his words, "have changed fundamentally the content of world politics" and can be used for changes in the world which are desirable to American imperialism.

Without concealing his understanding of this force as a nuclear missile force, Brzezinski defended the need for U.S. nuclear superiority and back in 1972 rushed to the attack of the first Soviet-American strategic arms limitation agreement. Then, as is known, he began trying to drag out the ratification of SALT-II, stating in complete conformity with the spirit of his conception that if necessary "without too much hesitation" he would recommend that the U.S. President push "the nuclear button."

Brzezinski's work "The New Scale of Threat to the Security of the Atlantic Alliance" convincingly attests to his aspiration to place his concepts at the service of NATO. Considering this organization "a component and symbol of world order," he stresses that within in it it will be possible to combine closer Atlantic cooperation with "integration," that is, with the development of "the European Common Market," and the "converged," "reborn" Europe can also be included in this political system.

The NATO apologist also dreams of drawing Japan into an anti-Soviet alliance. In 1971 he visited that country, lived there more than half a year, collected data on its economy, the alinement of political forces and political prospects, talked with government leaders and prominent military figures, delivered lectures and gave interviews. The book "The Fragile Blossom. Crisis and Change in Japan" was the result of the trip. In it the author concluded: Japanese society cannot be considered "strictly traditional or exclusively modern," but nevertheless Japan, like America and Western Europe, is "in the forefront of the societies which are going through the industrial age and are standing on the threshold of the new technotronic era."<sup>20</sup>

Brzezinski not only "substantiated theoretically" the need for an aggressive association of imperialist powers, but also promoted such an alliance by his practical activity. Relying on the support of the monopolies, including concerns of Rockefeller and Ford, he advanced rapidly higher and higher up the ladder of a political career. Whereas previously Brzezinski the sociologist disguised the anti-Soviet, militaristic heart of his views by "the search for new paths in sociology," after taking the position of assistant to the U.S. President for national security,

he became an open proponent of anti-Sovietism, militarism and American chauvinism. Moreover, he revised a number of his sociological principles which, apparently, prevented him from proceeding to the inflation of the myth "about the military threat of the Kremlin," "about the catastrophic growth of USSR armed forces," and advanced new sociological versions in which the class struggle was declared an anachronism. A world association achieved by "global transformation," in which American imperialism with its characteristic "historical roots and spiritual values" will dominate and "a global creation," "a transnational consciousness," which is formed by imperialist America, will be established, in which it is easy to recognize the personification of the ideology of American imperialism, will help, in his opinion, to overcome the crisis of spirit, the crisis of faith of capitalism in its own forces. In discussing the steps to overcoming this crisis and the lending of a specific form to the world which has suddenly awakened politically and has become restless socially, Brzezinski emphasizes that the United States, Western Europe and Japan should perform the functions of the collective leader of the free world. Here he does not forget to recall that the United States will retain the main role.<sup>21</sup>

In the article "America in a Hostile World," a part of a new manuscript "America in the New World," which was published in 1976, he again promotes the "omnipotence" of the United States and passes off American imperialism as the champion of "freedom," which is fated in the future to control all world processes. Painting a rosy picture of the future of this country, Brzezinski at the same time cannot conceal his fear of real facts of contemporary development, the fact, for example, that the tendency for socio-economic systems different from the American system of "corporate ownership" to develop is appearing.

In the U.S. foreign policy program outlined by him Brzezinski even before becoming a presidential adviser placed in the forefront the theme of a close political and economic "trilateral" alliance of the United States, Western Europe and Japan, with the inclusion of Canada in it. Mutual understanding with the Soviet Union, he asserts, should be established only on individual issues,<sup>22</sup> while attempting at the same time to surpass it militarily. Thus, a policy inevitably leading to the renewal of the Cold War and the arms race was proposed.

Brzezinski attempts to oppose to the United Nations, which does not satisfy his aspirations, the "tripartite commission" which is made up of businessmen, reactionary military men and the most conservative circles of the intelligentsia of the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Being one of the founders and ideologists of this organization, he introduces a spirit of anticommunism and militarism in its activity. The commission exaggerates in every possible way the myth of a "communist danger" and confuses world public opinion by fabrications about the aggressive intentions of the Communist Parties, which "may become a threatening alternative to the capitalist system."<sup>23</sup>

Developing his anti-Soviet activity, Brzezinski displays a hypertrophied concern about "national security" and zealously puts the reactionary forces together for a struggle against the imaginary threats on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. For this purpose he took a trip in 1978 to China, the results of which received the approval of the militaristic, chauvinistic circles of America. The progressive public condemned his "supersecret visit to the PRC," assessing the meeting of the U.S. presidential assistant with Beijing's leaders as one of the attempts to promote the revival of the spirit of the Cold War.

In reality the meeting was just that. Speaking on American television, Brzezinski covered only a few aspects of his trip to China, and even from them it is easy to form an impression about the main directions of the negotiations and about the gross distortion by the parties to the meeting of the real picture of international relations, particularly the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Brzezinski called detente "a process of attempts to hold in check some aspects of rivalry in Soviet-American relations" and accused the Soviet Union of a policy of "encirclement" of the Near East, of "aggravation of the racial difficulties in Africa," "of stepping up the concentration of Soviet troops" on the border with China and of other absurdities. At the same time he spoke with effusive praise about the Chinese leaders, especially noting "the brilliant analysis of the international situation," which Hua Guofeng gave. Later in an interview for TIME, ignoring the fact of Beijing's armed attack on Vietnam, he stated that China is a factor of stability in Asia.<sup>24</sup>

Brzezinski attempted to secure the reputation of the theorist of Washington's geopolitics by the well-known "tours" in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, where he went as head of an intelligence delegation to hold talks on the expansion of U.S. involvement in subversive activities against Afghanistan and on the preparation for the establishment of a network of new American military bases in the Near East. Just as during the tour of China, during these negotiations he combined the functions of the theorist of militaristic, chauvinistic, hegemonic ideas with the mission of their executor. He was able to come to an agreement with the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq on the transformation of Pakistan into a military outpost of American imperialism, on the financing of the aggressive plans of this regime and deliveries to it of new types of weapons, including missile weaponry.

The presidential assistant explained the generous aid to its ally by U.S. commitments to guarantee the security of Pakistan and its readiness to take the proper steps, including the use of military force, to ensure peace and stability in the Near East. He attempted to crown the fame of the playwright and director of the provocation in Pakistan with the triumph of an actor: press photographers recorded Brzezinski on the Pakistani border with a Chinese machine gun in his hands, which was aimed in the direction of Afghanistan. The undisguised pressure on Zia-ul-Haq and the hints at the military and financial might of the United States, which Brzezinski ventured, and the flagrant imposition of money aroused condemnation not only in official circles of Pakistan, but also in the United States itself. TIME, for example, regarded the results of this trip as "a serious blow to the international prestige of the United States."<sup>25</sup>

In recent times Brzezinski's sociological resources have been rapidly supplemented by statements in which the theoretical ideas and elaborations differ in almost no way from the instructions and circulars of the general staff and intelligence and counterintelligence agencies. In particular, the concepts of the infamous "arc of instability" which runs parallel to the southern border of the USSR, the arguments about a certain "crescent of crises," in which the United States ostensibly has the right to do everything that it thinks fit, including armed intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign states in the name of "the protection of its vital interests," appear as such. But he regards these interests with a global scope that is characteristic of the ideologist of American imperialism. Speaking at the



Women's National Democratic Club in February 1980, Brzezinski impudently grouped with "the sphere of vital interests of the United States" many regions thousands of kilometers removed from the American shores and named among them the countries of Europe, Southeast and Southwest Asia, the Far and Near East. The geostrategic plan of the regions, which was advanced by Brzezinski the sociology professor, or, as he has been nicknamed in progressive circles, "the oracle of hegemonism," completely coincides with the position of the Pentagon.

Brzezinski continues to attach great importance for the solution of global problems to the North Atlantic military bloc. "The members of NATO," he says, "will have to devote more and more attention to the events taking place beyond the range of action of the North Atlantic alliance," and adds that the crises in the Near East, the region of the Persian Gulf and the Horn of Africa and in the southern part of Africa may affect the vital interests of the NATO countries. The theorist of hegemonism and presidential assistant attempted to do everything to impose upon them a long-term program of stepped up armament and to force them to make a provocative decision on the deployment in Western Europe of new American missiles aimed at the USSR and its allies.

Brzezinski displayed long ago an unhealthy interest in the fate of the developing countries. He has begun to speak even more loudly about this now, when American imperialism has begun to actively attempt to subordinate them to its hegemony, in order to use the territory of these countries for its sinister designs, which are aimed against the national liberation forces and the socialist world.

Many developing countries hold to a socialist orientation and are proceeding with confidence along the path of social progress. In this fact, in the influence of world socialism on them Brzezinski sees a challenge to imperialism. On the eve of 1980 "the oracle of hegemonism" said with poorly concealed irritation: "The United States is faced with two fundamentally important problems: the first is the challenge to our geostrategic position in the world, the second is the challenge to our interrelations with those two-thirds of the world, which in the past two decades have suddenly awakened politically."<sup>26</sup>

Such a situation worries Brzezinski, but not wishing to admit this, he zealously plays up the omnipotence of the United States. American imperialism through the voice of its chauvinist sociologist is trying to convince the Asian, African and Latin American countries, which have suddenly appeared on the world arena, that precisely "the geostrategic position of the United States" will guarantee the protection of their interests. They should believe that the foreign and, consequently, the domestic security of the Third World depends to a very great extent on the power of Uncle Sam, that this is the main source of stability.

The presidential assistant, trying to channel future events in a direction advantageous for the imperialists, concludes: in the present "dangerous" times the preservation and strengthening of the geostrategic positions of the United States should be the primary task. This mission, according to the design of its initiator, consists in the stepping up of military preparations and the increase of the military presence of the United States in strategically important regions of the planet, about which Brzezinski is now so wholeheartedly worried. His statements concerning "the crisis in the region of the Persian Gulf," on which the intent gaze of the

American administration, as follows from the words of the resident sociologist, was fixed long before the events in Iran and Afghanistan, are especially dangerous to the cause of peace. The presidential assistant admits that, while showing a greater interest in wringing the natural resources of the region, U.S. leaders "worked intensely" over the past few years for the purpose of putting "American power" into effect more rapidly.

By his statements of late Brzezinski has made a considerable contribution to the development of the "Carter Doctrine," which reflects U.S. pretensions to world domination, the role of a world gendarme who is called upon to establish its own rules throughout the world. The mentioned "doctrine" is linked with the end of the "post-Vietnam era" and the "Eurocentric era in world affairs," with the revival in the United States of the policy of preparing for and carrying out military adventures. It is based on Washington's arbitrary appropriation of a certain right "to reward" and "to punish" independent sovereign states. The coauthor of the "Carter doctrine" is doing much for the escalation of the arms race, which is being accompanied by the stirring up of anti-Soviet hysteria and the exaggeration of anti-Soviet versions about "the war of Russians against Afghans" and "the Soviet threat to Pakistan and Iran."

Not only Brzezinski, of course, took a hand in the entry of the United States into a new period of anti-Soviet chauvinistic psychosis and militaristic frenzy. But the situation, which formed as a result of the deterioration of the political atmosphere in the United States, in many ways was created by his efforts and by the affirmation in policy of a "hard line" with respect to the USSR, which he has expounded for a long time. The employee of the U.S. Department of State, who stated in TIME that Brzezinski "has finally gotten his Cold War,"<sup>27</sup> is certainly correct. It should be added that Brzezinski nurtured the ideas of this policy, which has now become the official foreign policy line of the White House, back while working as a Columbia University professor. Such is the logical course of his devotion to anti-Soviet sociological ideas!

Embodied in theoretical concepts and practical matters, these ideas continue to worry the author, who is trying zealously to achieve their most complete realization. Let us recall if only Brzezinski's interview with TIME, in which he flagrantly distorted the true meaning of the friendly assistance of the Soviet Union to the Afghan people and attempts to place upon the USSR the responsibility for the deterioration of Soviet-American relations and for the worsening of the international situation. Charging the Soviet Union with the fact that "Soviet actions in Afghanistan have dealt a great blow to detente," Brzezinski threatened the Soviet people with U.S. willingness to act "very decisively and very vigorously."

In both his sociological works and his political activity Brzezinski is continuing the nationalistic, militaristic traditions of American imperialism. Along with other exponents of "a policy from a position of strength" he is actively participating in the elaboration of newer and newer adventurist "doctrines" which are threatening the peace and security of nations.

This is especially dangerous, because Brzezinski is not simply a sociologist, but "the main policymaker and the only foreign policy adviser, who has access to Carter round the clock and who has an office in the White House."<sup>29</sup> In discussing the



appointment of E. Muskie as Secretary of State and formulating assumptions concerning the possible interrelations between the Secretary of State and the National Security Adviser, TIME emphasized the great influence of Brzezinski on government policy and personally on Carter. "Carter praised the attribute which he calls aggressiveness, finding an abundance of it in Brzezinski...."<sup>29</sup> As the magazine notes, the "energetic intellectual pyrotechnic"<sup>30</sup> Brzezinski likes to say: "In life you should take risks" and accordingly formulates his political ideas.<sup>31</sup> He often quotes a phrase attributed to his favorite historical figure--Napoleon: "Get involved, and then we will see."<sup>32</sup>

In the words of one assistant of C. Vance, the former U.S. Secretary of State "found Brzezinski to be a dangerous and unstable (changeable in views) person incapable of assessing the consequences of rhetoric."<sup>33</sup> It is not surprising that precisely Brzezinski was one of the three presidential advisers who decided in late November 1979 to draw up a plan to free the American hostages in Iran, which with the participation of the same Brzezinski on 11 April 1980 was approved at a meeting of the National Security Council and which failed so infamously.

The author of political adventures like the one in Iran, Brzezinski passionately wanted to conduct the SALT-II negotiations instead of Vance and, approaching them from a position of strength, consistently "conducted a policy of confrontation,"<sup>34</sup> which was promoted by his sociological opuses, which from the first were aimed at justifying a policy of this sort.

It is quite natural that Soviet sociology, which is developing, like all other fields of Soviet science, under the banner of peace, freedom and humanism, under the banner of social progress, is rebuffing the insidious intentions of the lackeys of imperialism and repudiates along with their "works" reactionary concepts from sociology. "To the 'doctrine' of military hysteria and a feverish arms race," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev points out, "we are opposing the doctrine of a consistent struggle for peace and security on earth."<sup>35</sup>

Soviet sociologists are not utopians. They are not counting on the convergence of Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois sociology and on the obliteration of differences in ideological and social systems. But, following the behests of V. I. Lenin, they are trying to cut off the reactionary trends in foreign science and at the same time to acquire and process the favorable material<sup>36</sup> being obtained by bourgeois social science and support the development of the business-like cooperation of sociologists of the entire world and, consequently, oppose everything that hinders and harms this cooperation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See C. I. Friedrich, Z. K. Brzezinski, "Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy," Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956, p VIII a. o.
2. See Z. K. Brzezinski, "Permanent Purge. Politics in Soviet Totalitarianism," Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956, pp 23, 37 a. o.
3. See Z. K. Brzezinski, "Permanent Purge...", pp 2, 3, 4.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 24, p 361.
5. See Z. K. Brzezinski, "The Soviet Bloc. Unity and Conflict," New York, 1962, Epilogue.
6. See Z. K. Brzezinski, "The Soviet Bloc. Unity and Conflict," Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967, p XII.
7. Ibid., p 3.
8. Z. K. Brzezinski, "Ideology and Power in Soviet Politics," London, 1962, p 32.
9. See Z. K. Brzezinski, S. P. Huntington, "Political Power: USA/USSR," New York, 1964, p XI.
10. See Z. K. Brzezinski, S. P. Huntington, "Political Power: USA/USSR," pp 412 ff.
11. Z. K. Brzezinski, "Alternative to Partition. For a Broader Conception of America's Role in Europe," New York-Toronto-London, 1965, pp VII, IX.
12. Ibid., p IX.
13. Ibid., p 76.
14. "Marxism, Communism and Western Society. A Comparative Encyclopedia," 8 volumes, New York, 1972-1973.
15. "Africa and the Communist World," edited by Z. Brzezinski, Stanford, California, 1966, p V.
16. Ibid., p 7 a. o.
17. Z. K. Brzezinski, "Between Two Ages. America's Role in the Technotronic Era," New York, 1970, p XIV.
18. Ibid., pp 24, 196, 198.
19. THE NATION, 18 December 1976, p 652.
20. Z. K. Brzezinski, "The Fragile Blossom. Crisis and Change in Japan," New York-Evanston-San Francisco-London, 1972, pp IX-XI.
21. See THE NATION, 18 December 1976, pp 651-652.
22. See Z. K. Brzezinski, "System Miedzynarodowy Napiecia Przemiany," London, 1976.
23. See Yu. Zhuk, "The Poor in Spirit," NOVYY MIR, No 7, 1978, p 245.
24. See TIME, 25 December 1978, p 9.
26. TIME, 17 March 1980, p 26.

26. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, No 52, 1979, p 16.
27. TIME, 4 February 1978, p 8.
28. NEWSWEEK, 12 May 1980, p 32.
29. TIME, 12 May 1980, p 12.
30. Ibid., p 11.
31. Ibid., p 14.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid, p 11.
34. Ibid.
35. PRAVDA, 23 February 1980.
36. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 18, p 364.

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## CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY: THE MAIN TRENDS AND METHODS OF PUBLIC SURVEYS IN THE UNITED STATES

### DYNAMICS OF THE POLITICAL VIEWS OF AMERICANS

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/Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Nikolay Petrovich Popov, senior research associate of the Institute of the United States of America and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Text/ The hectic year of the presidential elections is coming to an end in the United States. During the election campaigns statements that the political orientations of Americans are shifting to the right and conservative trends are predominating over liberal trends, have begun to appear more and more often. The atmosphere of bellicosity, which was created in the United States after the Iranian and Afghan events, and the data of some surveys, according to which the majority of Americans approve of an increase of the defense budget and demand the reduction of taxes, even if both lead to the curtailment of government aid programs to the unemployed, the poorest strata and so on, are cited as evidence of such a shift.

The question of prevailing public sentiments is by no means academic. Citing the support of its actions by the majority of Americans, the Carter Administration made a significant turn to the right. Defense spending was increased sharply, the process of detente was frozen, SALT-II was shelved, the administration embarked on the path of the Cold War and military adventures. The initially proposed public welfare program was reduced significantly this year. It was cut by more than \$20 billion, as a result of which first of all the programs for the creation of new workplaces and aid to needy families will suffer. According to the data of some surveys, many of these actions enjoyed the support of a quite significant portion of the public.

Directing their attention to the shift to the right, both bourgeois parties nominated more conservative figures, who made considerable gains in the campaign for elected positions on the local and national level.

As a whole the 1970's were characterized by complex, often contradictory processes in the American mass consciousness. Many of them did not appear in the form of mass actions, as was the case in the preceding decade, and therefore were recorded relatively rarely by the press and television. As for "the shift of America to the right," the study of the materials of public opinion research make it possible to draw the following conclusions.

First, the assessment of the results of such surveys should be treated cautiously. Many of them are very biased, the sample is not always representative. It is also necessary to take into account that some surveys are conducted confidentially and the client (for example, a political figure) makes public only the results which are advantageous to him. As THE NEW YORK TIMES reported, according to the data of the Committee for the Present Danger, a rightist organization, only 20 percent of the Americans supported SALT-II in March of last year. Another poll, which was conducted at approximately the same time by CBS jointly with this newspaper, showed that 63 percent approved of this treaty.<sup>1</sup> Of course, the right-wing circles made intensive use of the understated rating to justify their position.

Second, the interpretation of the concepts "right-wing" and "left-wing," "conservative" and "liberal," which has changed considerably over the past two decades, also was conducive to an arbitrary interpretation of the situation in the country. Many ideas, which were considered very liberal in the mid 1960's, are now grouped with moderate ideas, and even people who call themselves conservatives share them. Thus, to the question "should the government guarantee blacks equal workplaces and housing conditions," 69 percent of the "liberals," 73 percent of the "moderates" and 67 percent of the "conservatives" responded affirmatively.<sup>2</sup>

The third thing, which it is necessary to note when examining the correlation between right-wing and left-wing trends in public sentiments, is the sharp increase of the activity of the right-wing forces, which were frightened by the scope of social protest of the broad masses in the 1960's. The financial support of big business, which is worried about the "excessive" growth of government social programs and by "excessive" government regulation of its activity, has enabled the right-wingers to control the channels of propaganda, owing to which their voice is now "more audible." As General Secretary of the CPUS Gus Hall notes, the right-wing figures of "a new bent" owing to their assertiveness and good coordination of actions "have created the impression that they indeed speak on behalf of the majority."<sup>3</sup> Now, E. Ladd states, "many commentators on American political life have begun to presume that 'the country is moving to the right,' and quite a number of political figures have begun to act as if this is in fact happening."<sup>4</sup>

And finally, a definite strengthening of conservative views on a number of problems is noticeable. The increased activeness of right-wingers, which has been greatly intensified by the activity of the mass media, their biased interpretation of foreign and domestic policy problems, the distorted presentation of the facts, frequently their direct falsification, the propaganda activity of the government, which in recent times has conducted a bluntly reactionary policy--all this could not but yield its results, could not but cause negative changes in the mass consciousness. Take if only the attitude of the population toward foreign policy problems. The slanderous statements about a "Soviet threat" and the attacks on SALT-II, the fabrications about violations of "human rights" in the USSR, the complaints of the decline of the role of the United States in the world had the result that in late 1979 60 percent of those surveyed supported an increase of the defense budget (in 1971 only 11 percent did), 60 percent supported the idea of restoring mandatory military service, 71 percent believed that "the Soviet Union cannot be trusted and it will violate concluded agreements," 56 percent believed that President Carter was not hard enough with respect to the USSR.<sup>5</sup>



It should be borne in mind that the American bourgeoisie and its most right-wing groups have considerable means to manipulate mass consciousness, to arouse, although for a short time, jingoistic sentiments, to play on the racial prejudices of the white population and to oppose the interests of "white collar workers" and the better off part of the working class to the remaining bulk of workers.

However, along with the surges of conservatism and the contradictory vacillation of public sentiments, which are immediately interpreted by conservative circles as a shift to the right, more far-reaching and long-term processes, which are developing under the influence of the crisis of the capitalist system and its manifestations in the sphere of economics, politics and ideology, are taking place in public consciousness. The discontent of the broad masses with the socio-economic structure of society and the distrust in the main institutions of power and the bourgeois parties are increasing. A more and more critical attitude of various strata of the population toward the existing political system and political practice is in evidence. In spite of the contradictory nature of popular views and the penduliform vacillation of public sentiments, as a whole we can speak about the democratization of the views of broader and broader strata of the U.S. population.

The Vietnam war, which led to a significant reappraisal of values, increased the generation gap and promoted the heightening of leftist sentiments, in many ways was conducive to an increase of the consistency of political views.

The process of politicizing public consciousness in the United States, especially in the 1970's, led to the inclusion in the sphere of interests of broad strata of the population of a large number of socially important problems which traditionally did not have political slant. Among them are the status of women, questions of environmental protection, the quality of goods and services, problems of culture, morals, lifestyle and the way of life. The considerably increased skepticism with respect to the system of private enterprise, the distrust of the majority of American institutions of power and especially the government and the liberalization of the views of broad circles of Americans led to the realization by people, including the former "silent majority," of the need for personal involvement in the political life of the country.

Let us examine the dynamics of the popular views of the population of the institutions and problems of American society.

**The Attitude Toward the Bourgeois Sociopolitical System.** The ideas of the average American about the causes of injustice and inequality, the crises in the country have changed over the past two decades. Broader and broader strata of the population understand that the roots of the exacerbation of social problems lie in the social system itself, in the activity of the government and the bourgeois parties and in the interests of big business. The studies of these issues, which were conducted by U.S. sociological centers, are quite biased, but some data are very significant and are of interest.

The majority of Americans believe that "matters in the country" are bad. In 1979, according to the data of Gallup, 88 percent were of this opinion.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, whereas in 1974 (during the recession) many hoped for an improvement of the situation in the next five years, in 1979 the expectations were pessimistic. On a

10-point scale the situation in the country was rated in 1979 as follows: the situation five years ago—5.7; at present—4.7; in five years—4.6.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile 20 years ago the result of the survey was different: respectively 6.5, 6.7 and 7.4.<sup>8</sup>

Many American researchers and political figures, citing their own data, express the opinion that for all the critical attitude toward various aspects of life and the increased problems Americans as a whole view the socio-economic system positively and do not want to change it. Thus, according to D. Yankelovich (a joint study with TIME), 96 percent of the population is willing "to make sacrifices to preserve the free enterprise system."<sup>9</sup> At the same time, according to the data of Roper, only 45 percent believe that "the American form of government does not need significant changes," 39 percent believe that it is necessary to preserve it, but the constitution needs to be revised, while 16 percent believe that the system "is completely obsolete" and sooner or later "a completely different form of government" will be required.<sup>10</sup>

The breakdown of the responses to the questionnaires of the Center for Political Studies of the University of Michigan, which, in particular, ascertained whether changes in the system of government are needed, attests quite eloquently to the attitude toward the political system and the form of government.<sup>11</sup> Whereas in 1972 only 15 percent believed that it needed significant changes and 27 percent believed that it needed some changes, in 1976 there were respectively 23 and 26 percent of these opinions.

Although 49 percent of the population lives with the idea of the need to revise the forms of government, very many believe they do not have the means to influence the activity of the government. In 1972 36 percent of those surveyed agreed with the assumption: "People like me do not have any influence on what the government does."<sup>12</sup> By 1978 their proportion was already 45 percent.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, very many Americans as yet still do not see an alternative to the existing system in the socialist transformations of society. In spite of the increase of the influence of the CPUS and the strengthening of non-Marxist socialist trends and organizations,<sup>14</sup> the ruling class has still been able to spread and maintain among the masses anti-communist and anti-Soviet prejudices. At the same time the prevalence of such views is declining. The results of periodic polls, which ascertain the attitude of the respondents to various forms of the public activity of members of the Communist Party, give an indirect idea about this process.<sup>15</sup> Whereas in 1954 28 percent agreed that a person who admits to be a communist should be allowed to speak in public, in 1977 57 percent did;<sup>16</sup> respectively 29 and 57 percent opposed the removal from libraries of books written by communists<sup>17</sup> and 6.4 and 41 percent opposed the firing of communist college instructors.<sup>18</sup> These hypothetical situations have often become quite real: the firing of the communist Angela Davis provoked mass protests.

The information of the above-mentioned Center for Political Studies of the University of Michigan on the attitude of the broad strata of the population toward the government,<sup>19</sup> which, according to official political doctrine, should be "of the people" and "for the people," is very significant. Here are some of the responses to the assumptions of the questionnaires.

"People like me do not have any influence on what the government does":

	1964	1974	1978
Agree	29%	40%	45%
Disagree	70%	59%	53%

"I do not believe that government figures are concerned about the opinion of such people as me":

	1964	1974	1978
Agree	36%	50%	51%
Disagree	62%	46%	45%

The increasing distrust of government leaders is also displayed in the appraisal of their competence:

	1964	1974	1978
They are competent people	69%	49%	41%
They have a poor idea of what they are doing	27%	46%	51%

The dynamics of the awareness of the class nature of bourgeois society is evident from the responses to the question "Do you believe that the government is headed by several influential groups which are concerned about personal gain, or do they act in the interests of all the people?":<sup>20</sup>

	1964	1974	1978
The government acts in the interests of all the people	64%	25%	24%
It is concerned about the gain of several influential groups	29%	66%	67%

The attempts of bourgeois political science and the press to represent various "pressure groups" (business, labor unions, organizations of national minorities, women and so on) as equals in the struggle for political influence now do not yield success. The population already has a quite clear idea of who enjoys real political power: 80 percent came to the conclusion of "too strong an influence" of big business, just as many respondents are of the opinion that the poorest strata of the population enjoy too little influence.<sup>21</sup> Similar results were obtained in the surveys of L. Harris, according to whose data 78 percent of the people believe that "the rich are getting richer, and the poor, poorer," and 84 percent believe that "privileged groups get more from the government than simple people."<sup>22</sup>

The "index of alienation," which is defined by Harris as the cumulative indicator of the opinions with respect to the activity of various institutions of power, is an important indicator of the discontent of Americans with the entire system of political power. The "index of alienation" increased from 29 percent in 1966 to 41 percent in 1971 and 58 percent in 1977.<sup>23</sup> The credibility gap, which is now being discussed so much in America, has affected all the most important institutions of bourgeois society (see the table).<sup>24</sup>

Confidence ("High Level of Confidence") of Respondents in Leaders  
of the Most Important Institutions of the United States  
(according to the results of Harris surveys), percent

	1966	1971	1973	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Television (news programs)	25	--	41	35	28	30	35	37	31
Medicine	73	61	57	43	42	55	42	30	--
Armed forces	62	27	40	24	23	31	29	29	30
The press	29	18	30	26	20	19	23	28	22
Religious organizations	41	27	36	32	24	34	34	20	--
Large companies	55	27	29	19	16	23	22	18	19
Congress	42	19	29	13	9	15	10	18	11
The Executive	41	23	19	13	11	23	14	17	--
Labor unions	22	14	20	14	10	15	15	10	--
Average indicator	43	27	33	24	20	27	25	23	--

Bourgeois sociologists and political figures are attempting to see in this the "apoliticalness" of the current credibility gap and interpret the latter as a "crisis of national spirit," the weariness of the population from endless domestic and foreign policy problems and failures, in other words, the ruling circles are trying to shift the responsibility to the American people, who have ostensibly lost the steadfastness of spirit. This idea was the theme of the well-known speech of President Carter in July of last year.

In reality the broader strata of the population are realizing to a greater and greater extent the subordination of the institutions of bourgeois society to the interests of the ruling class, their alienation from them, and therefore the confidence in these institutions (in the past 15 years they have been united under the quite diffuse concept "the establishment") is now very negligible.

The Dynamics of the Attitude Toward Political Parties. The bourgeois parties in the mind of the masses are an integral part of "the establishment," and the confidence in them has declined to an extremely low level. Whereas 25 percent trust the Congress, 35 percent trust the Supreme Court and 20 percent trust the President, 2 percent trust the political parties.<sup>25</sup> About 60 percent of those surveyed believe the parties are interested not in the opinion of the people, but only in getting their votes.<sup>26</sup>

Prior to the 1950's apoliticalness (the statements "I am not interested in politics," "politics is a dirty business" were traditional), an extremely low awareness, as compared with West European countries, of the activity of the government, a very low level of ideological knowledge were characteristic of many Americans. All this contributed to the fact that the majority of them associated themselves politically with one of the two bourgeois parties and allowed it to draft the platform and nominate candidates for elected positions. Americans chose a party primarily on the basis of family, occupational and group traditions and the extremely vague "image" of the party, which had been created in the public consciousness. As was noted in the well-known work "The American Voter," which was published in 1960, there were uncertainty and confusion in the public consciousness in regard to what the election victory of one party or the other would provide the country. "Although many



react competently to the problems, on which legislative or administrative actions may be taken," the authors of the study concluded, "they have a poor idea of what the government has done concerning these problems or what the parties propose."<sup>27</sup>

In the past 15 years important changes have emerged in U.S. political life. First, the number of supporters of the two bourgeois parties (Republican and Democratic) is decreasing and at the same time the stratum of "independents," who do not attach themselves to any party, is increasing. Second, the voters back one candidate or another in the elections on the basis of his stand on important problems of the country, and not only with respect to his party affiliation.

Whereas in 1948 51 percent of the people attached themselves to the Democratic Party, 33 percent attached themselves to the Republican Party and 16 percent considered themselves independents, in 1960 these figures were respectively 45, 30 and 23 percent; in 1970--41, 24 and 31 percent; in 1978--39, 21 and 38 percent.<sup>28</sup> It is important to emphasize that the decrease of the number of Democrats and Republicans is occurring mainly at the expense of "solid" followers of their party: the proportion of "solid" Democrats in 1960 declined from 20 to 15 percent, the proportion of "solid" Republicans--from 16 to 8 percent. The number of "shaky" supporters of both parties remained practically unchanged, just as the number of people calling themselves "apolitical" virtually did not change--1-3 percent.<sup>29</sup>

The crisis of the bourgeois two-party system and the increase of the number of "independents" are forcing the ruling circles to maneuver, to attempt by various slogans to attract the nonparty masses, the ideological "center." One of the ideas, which is sounded out periodically by means of public opinion polls, is the creation of a third bourgeois party, which should unite the "independents" and prevent their political radicalization. Even the form of presentation of this idea is very significant: "The suggestion has been made that the nation needs a third party--which would appeal to people holding a middle-of-the-road position in their political views. If such a party were created, the Republicans would be people with right-wing views--conservatives, the Democrats would be left-wingers--liberals, while the new party would unite people with views in between--the centrists." As we see, the very statement of the question is very tendentious--the Democrats in the United States are by no means a left-wing, liberal party, and the Republicans are not an unequivocally right-wing and conservative force. Both parties by turns equally represent in the government the interests of the ruling class, although different groups of it.

The attitude toward the idea of creating a third party of the "center," according to the data of Gallup for 1979, is 37 percent "for" and 48 percent "against," 15 percent did not specify their stand.<sup>30</sup> These results, in our opinion, should be regarded as a tendency common to many Americans under the present complicated circumstances to place themselves in the center of the political spectrum--between the right-wingers and the left-wingers.

A meaningful alternative to the two bourgeois parties consists not in the creation of a third bourgeois party, but in the unification of people who are disappointed with the bourgeois political system into an antimonopolistic coalition. The Communist Party of the United States believes that such an association is in accord with the positive changes which have occurred in the popular consciousness of Americans in



recent years. According to the testimony of the leaders of the working class movement, the understanding of the need for a party which defends the interests of the workers is increasing in the country. D. Fraser, one of the foremost labor union leaders, having stressed that simple Americans cannot rely on either the Democratic or Republican Party, since both serve the interests of business, noted the intensification of the disposition in labor union circles in favor of the creation of an independent "workers' party."

**The Dynamics of the Attitude Toward Social Problems.** According to the data of Gallup, in late 1979 69 percent of the population (that is, twice as many as in the late 1960's) considered the state of the economy, including the problems of the increase of the cost of living, unemployment, inflation, taxes and so forth, "the main problem facing the country." In April 1980 81 percent of those surveyed noted a worsening of matters in this area,<sup>32</sup> and one of the most important causes of this situation, in the opinion of 60 percent of the respondents, is that "business is increasing prices in order to increase the profits."<sup>33</sup> The number of people demanding that the government limit the profits of companies has increased accordingly over the past two decades—from 23 percent in 1962 to 55 percent in 1977.

In all recent years the responsibility of the government for the worsening of the economic situation and for the inability to solve the social problems connected with this has been one of the themes which have aroused debates in the most diverse strata of the population. On the one hand, in the opinion of the majority of the population, the government is creating and aggravating inflation by enormous expenditures, which moreover chronically exceed the revenue item of the federal budget. Hence the constant demands to reduce government spending and to decrease taxes. In the spring of this year 60 percent of the people considered it necessary for the solution of economic problems "to balance the budget, even if this means reducing spending on defense and domestic programs"; 64 percent supported the reduction of federal income taxes.<sup>34</sup> At the same time 63 percent opposed "the reduction of government spending on health care and education," 69 percent opposed "allowing unemployment to increase in order to reduce inflation"<sup>35</sup> (it is necessary to note that the Carter Administration resorted precisely to this step).

These contradictions in the mass consciousness were first described in detail in the well-known study of L. Free and H. Cantril, "The Political Beliefs of Americans," which was published in 1968.<sup>36</sup> At present, as at the time of the study, a significant number of Americans "theoretically" remain supporters of the "liberal" ideas of the middle of the last century, the principles of personal initiative to counterbalance the interference of the government in economic and social life. Some of those surveyed substantiated their point of view as follows: "It seems to me that people have lost the sense of initiative and responsibility. They prefer for the government to think for them." In all 79 percent agreed that it is necessary "to rely more on personal initiative and responsibility than on government social welfare programs."<sup>37</sup> At the same time in the process of the increase of political consciousness under the conditions of the present stage of the general crisis of the capitalist system more and more Americans are coming to the realization of the inalienable right of people to work and to various forms of social security. In 1978 74 percent already believed that "the government is obliged to provide a job to every person who wants to work" (in 1960 it was 64 percent),<sup>38</sup> and 81 percent as against 65 percent spoke in support of government assistance in the area of medical service.<sup>39</sup>

Such an approach is also characteristic with respect to government spending on various social programs: 54 percent speak in favor of increasing the appropriations for education and only 11 percent believe that the spending is too much; 57 percent believe it necessary to increase the appropriations for health care and 67 percent believe it necessary to increase them for fighting crime.<sup>40</sup>

During the 1970's the weakening of racial prejudices continued, the support of the struggle of the black population for social and economic equality and of the movement for racial integration broadened. The dynamics of opinion in 1968-1978 can serve as an indicator of this process: the number of whites, who responded affirmatively to the question on the questionnaire "Do many whites experience hostility toward blacks?" decreased over the 10 years from 61 to 38 percent, the number of blacks—from 45 to 32 percent.<sup>41</sup> The attitude toward the joint residency of blacks and whites in a single region changed significantly. In 1968 63 percent viewed this favorably, in 1978—93 percent. As compared with 32 percent now only 5 percent believe that whites have the right not to allow blacks in their area.<sup>42</sup> Over a period of 20 years—from 1958 to 1978—the attitude toward the possibility of a black being elected president changed significantly—81 percent of the Americans no longer opposed this (previously only 42 percent did not oppose it).

The assessment by the white population of the real progress made by blacks in the struggle for genuine equality is also very important. The reactionary circles, in attempting to use the conflicts between workers with black and white skin in their own interests, are doggedly spreading the idea that the progress of the black population is advancing too rapidly and at the expense of whites. The support of such views declined from 71 percent in 1966 to 37 percent in 1978.<sup>43</sup>

At the turn of the decade in America they traditionally tally the results and attempt to identify the most important processes in the political life of the country and the dominant trend in the political climate and to choose the most vivid definition for the decade. Many sociologists recall the Gay Nineties, the Roaring Twenties, the Turbulent Sixties. They were succeeded by the "decade of second thoughts,"<sup>44</sup> when traditional ideas, the activity of the government and other institutions of society and the very possibility of progress were reappraised. "The seventies," E. Ladd and S. M. Lipset write, "were perhaps more placid than the sixties, but under the surface important changes occurred. Some ideas of the sixties were accepted, others were rejected, and now, when Americans are looking to the future, contradictory feelings have possessed the country."<sup>45</sup>

The inadequate development of the political consciousness of Americans was manifested in the 1970's in the greater contradictoriness of the views on domestic and international problems, in the instability of convictions and their susceptibility to the manipulative activity of the ruling circles and the bourgeois mass media.

In the United States, indeed, a certain decrease of the activeness of the movements of social protest, left radicalism, antiwar and black actions occurred (the black unrest and rebellions in the ghettos of Miami and other cities in early 1980 may be indicators that this lull was temporary and in the 1980's the intensity of political activeness may again increase). At the same time the spread among the broad masses of many liberal and progressive ideas, which were advanced in the 1960's by the most politically active strata of the population, occurred during the past

decade. This process enveloped problems of economic life, morals, ethics and culture and social problems. Many views, which were considered almost seditious 15 years ago and were professed, for example, by student youth, have now spread among the representatives of the so-called middle class, who looked with enmity on the campus unrest in the 1960's. The influence and prestige of the Communist Party has increased, its representatives have been afforded the opportunity to speak before mass audiences, including young audiences. The understanding of the fact that the institutions of bourgeois society bear the responsibility for the acute socio-economic and domestic political problems, spread.

The unprecedented "crisis of confidence" in the basic institutions of society and the loss of faith in the future of the country and in the possibility of the solution by the bourgeois government of the most acute problems--unemployment and inflation--were a very important trait of the 1970's.

In spite of the significant increase of the activity of the forces of "antidetente," as a whole the 1970's were characterized by an increase of the understanding by the broad strata of the population of the need to seek ways to reduce international tension, and first of all the normalization of relations and the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union. At the same time the antimilitaristic sentiments and the support of detente are connected in the mass consciousness to a greater extent than before with realistic assessments of domestic problems, greater consistency in the political views of the population is being observed.

The next few years will show how successfully the above-indicated processes of the politicization of the mass consciousness will develop.

#### FOOTNOTES

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10. Ibid.

11. "The CPS 1972, 1976 American National Election Studies," Ann Arbor, Michigan, pp 173, 353.
12. Ibid., p 360.
13. "The American National Election Study 1978," Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1979, p 186.
14. See for more detail "SShA: obostreniye sotsial'nykh protivorechiy i massovyye demokraticheskiye dvizheniya" /The United States: Exacerbation of Social Conflicts and Mass Democratic Movements/, Moscow, 1980.
15. The first study of "tolerance toward communists, atheists and socialists" was made in 1954 by S. Stouffer. See S. Stouffer, "Conformity and Civil Liberties," New York, 1955.
16. "Studies of Social Change Since 1948," The National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, 1976, p 88.
17. "NORC General Social Survey 1977," Chicago, 1978.
18. Ibid.
19. "The CPS American National Election Studies 1964-1978. Codebooks." Here and below the total is not always 100 percent, since the responses "I do not know," "I am uncertain," "no opinion" are not taken into account.
20. "The American National Election Studies Data Sourcebook: 1952-1978," University of Michigan, 1980.
21. "The CPS 1974 American National Election Study," pp 213-221.
22. ABC NEWS-HARRIS SURVEY, 2 June 1980.
23. THE HARRIS SURVEY, 8 December 1977.
24. Surveys by Louis Harris and Associates, 1966-1978; ABC News/Louis Harris and Associates, 1978-1980.
25. "The CPS 1976 American National Election Study," p 293.
26. Ibid., p 418.
27. A. Campbell, P. Converse, W. Miller, D. Stokes, "The American Voter," New York, 1960, p 543.
28. "The American National Election Studies Data Sourcebook: 1952-1978," p 3.
29. Ibid.
30. THE GALLUP POLL, 13 September 1979.

31. Surveys by the Gallup Organization. The latest is that of October 1979.
32. CBS NEWS/THE NEW YORK TIMES POLL, April 1980.
33. Ibid.
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38. "The 1960 American National Election Study"; CBS NEWS/THE NEW YORK TIMES POLL, January 1978.
39. Ibid.
40. "NORC General Social Survey," 1978.
41. "Opinion Roundup," PUBLIC OPINION, December/January 1980, p 37.
42. Ibid., p 38.
43. Ibid.
44. "The 70's. Decade of Second Thoughts," PUBLIC OPINION, December/January 1980, p 19.
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CSO: 1806



TOWARD A HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 161-169

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Larisa Nikolayevna Fedotova, senior research associate of the Scientific Research Problems Laboratory for Foreign Tourism attached to the Institute for the Improvement of Skills of Managerial Personnel and Specialists of the Main Administration for Foreign Tourism attached to the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Not translated by JPRS]

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## SCIENTIFIC LIFE

### THE WORKING CLASS AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 170-171

[Article by I. Ye. Karlov]

[Text] An applied science conference devoted to the problems of the social development of the Soviet working class under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution was held in Gor'kiy on 12-13 June 1980. The conference was organized by the Gor'kovskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of the National Economy attached to the USSR Council of Ministers and the Volga-Vyatka Department of the Soviet Sociological Association.

The results of a follow-up study, which was conducted at the industrial enterprises of Gor'kovskaya Oblast in 1979 (15 years after the previous study, which was conducted at the same enterprises in 1964),<sup>1</sup> served as the basis for the discussion. The comparison of the data obtained with such a time interval made it possible to identify a number of important trends of change in the structure and social make-up of the working class, the shifts in the nature and content of labor and working conditions, in the level of education and skills, in the growth rate of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of workers and engineering and technical personnel. A study of such a large scale, which was carried out in one of the major industrial regions of the country, is an appreciable contribution to the study of the social structure of Soviet society and the leading role of the working class under the conditions of developed socialism.

CPSU Central Committee Member and First Secretary of the Gor'kovskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU Yu. N. Khristoradnov, CPSU Central Committee Member and Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin (his report was prepared jointly with Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. V. Osipov), Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. A. Aitov and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Zh. T. Toshchenko delivered reports at the plenary meeting of the conference. Some of the reports delivered at the conference are published in this issue of the journal.

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1. See "Rabochiy klass i tekhnicheskiy progress" [The Working Class and Technical Progress], Moscow, 1965.

About 1,500 leading workers, specialists, party and economic workers, scientists and cultural figures took part in the work of the eight sections of the conference. Second Secretary of the Gor'kovskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU B. V. Zakharov, Chief of the Machine Building Department of the Oblast Committee A. G. Volkov, Doctor of Economic Sciences Yu. V. Yakovets (Academy of the National Economy) and Doctor of Economic Sciences S. I. Shesterikov (Gor'kiy State University) headed the section "Scientific and Technical Progress and the Changes in the Material and Technical Base of Production." First Secretary of the Dzerzhinsk City Committee of the CPSU A. V. Alekseyev, Secretary of the Party Committee of the Vyksa Metallurgical Plant V. V. Tarasov and the directors of a number of scientific institutes took part in the discussion of questions of the improvement of the economic mechanism, the retooling of production, the increase of its efficiency and the growth of labor productivity.

The section "The Importance of the Changes in the Nature and Content of Labor for the Improvement of the Social Structure of the Working Class and the Production Intelligentsia" worked under the direction of Chairman of the Oblast Council of Trade Unions A. D. Klopov, chief of a department of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU Candidate of Technical Sciences M. S. Babichenko, Prorector of the Gor'kiy Higher Party School Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. A. Kuz'minov and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences M. N. Rutkevich. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences G. V. Badeyeva (Academy of the National Economy), General Director of the Atvodvigatel' Production Association of the USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry N. F. Kitayev, First Secretary of the Kulebaki City Committee of the CPSU V. M. Tutushkin, Ye. G. Aleksandrov (USSR Central Statistical Administration) and others analyzed in detail the results of the study of the changes in the nature and content of the labor of workers, the consequences of the elimination of difficult physical labor and the social significance of these processes.

Director of the Balakhna Pulp and Paper Combine V. Z. Lapukhin, First Secretary of the Oblast Committee of Komsomol S. V. Markov, Chief of the Oblast Department of Public Education L. V. Grishanov, Chief of the Oblast Administration of Vocational and Technical Education B. I. Mokhov, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. A. Slesarev (Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences) and others took part in the work of the section "Sociodemographic Processes and Problems of the Reinforcement of the Working Class" (the heads were Editor of GOR'KOVSKAYA PRAVDA I. A. Bogdanov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin, chief of a department of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU Candidate of Economic Sciences V. I. Zhmachinskiy, Doctors of Philosophical Sciences I. D. Shimin and V. P. Kiselev).

Chief of a department of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU L. V. Sokolov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I. V. Sukhanov (Gor'kiy Institute of Water Transportation Engineers), Doctor of Philosophical Sciences F. R. Filippov (Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences) and S. F. Frolov (Higher School of the Trade Union Movement) headed the section "The Increase of the Culture and Education of the Working Class, Problems of the Rational Use of Free Time."

Work was also done by the sections: "The Labor and Sociopolitical Activeness of the Working Class, Its Involvement in Production Management" (the heads were chief of a department of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU Candidate of Economic Sciences

M. A. Vinogradov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. G. Mordkovich, Rector of the Gor'kiy Higher Party School Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. V. Pavlov); "Ideological and Political Educational Work in the Labor Collective" (the heads were Secretary of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU I. Z. Borisova, chief of a department of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU A. P. Verov, Deputy Director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences Doctor of Philosophical Sciences S. F. Sbytov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. I. Mishin); "Planning and Management of Social Development in Labor Collectives, Cities and Rayons" (the heads were Deputy Chairman of the Oblast Soviet Executive Committee A. M. Makiyevskiy, chief of a department of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU A. F. Zhuravlev, Doctors of Philosophical Sciences G. V. Osipov and N. A. Aitov, Candidate of Economic Sciences A. I. Panov); "Protection of the Health of Workers Under the Conditions of the Scientific and Technical Revolution Is the Most Important Task" (the heads were Deputy Chairman of the Oblast Soviet Executive Committee A. F. Gorev, deputy chief of a department of the Oblast Committee of the CPSU L. N. Sokolov, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. M. Izutkin).

The conference adopted detailed recommendations which are aimed at the further intensification of the study of the problems of the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia and at the strengthening of the close contact of sociological science with the practice of social planning and management.

The conference materials will be published in a separate collection.

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CSO: 1806

## PLENUM OF THE SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 171-173

[Article by L. A. Kozlova and M. S. Solov'yev]

[Text] An expanded plenum of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association, which was devoted to the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, was held in Moscow on 26-27 May 1980. The question "The Social Program of the CPSU and the Tasks of the Soviet Sociological Association" was discussed at the plenum. Association President and Honored Scientist of the RSFSR Professor Kh. N. Momdzhyan delivered the report.

The implementation of the social program of the CPSU, the speaker noted, has led to an increase of the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people and to important gains in the matter of the improvement of the social structure of Soviet society, the development of the socialist way of life, the formation of the new man and the increase of the creative initiative of the workers in all sections of the building of communism. Therefore the social factors of social development, the comprehensive study of which is the main task of Soviet sociological science, are acquiring greater and greater importance in the realization of the advantages of socialism. This problem is being solved first of all by means of the participation of the association in the determination of the main directions of research in the area of sociology and the disciplines related to it and the coordination of the activity of its members--scientific research collectives, individual scientists.

The further improvement of social planning is at the center of attention of the association. The republic (regional) departments of the Soviet Sociological Association have gained in recent years extensive experience in drafting the plans of social development of industrial enterprises, cities and oblasts, regions and republics of the country. The scientific research collectives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee, the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems (Leningrad), the Scientific Research Institute of Complex Social Research of Leningrad State University imeni A. A. Zhdanov, Moscow State University imeni M. V. Lomonosov, as well the Gomel', Belorussian, Krasnoyarsk, Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Tbilisi and Khar'kov state universities and the Leningrad Institute of Finance Economics imeni A. A. Voznesenskiy are doing much in this sense. Sociological services are operating successfully in a number of ministries and departments. The



recommendations of the sociologists of the Baykal-Amur Main Rail Line, the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, the Kama Motor Vehicle Plant, the Leningrad Kirovskiy zavod and Svetlana production associations, the Barnaul Boiler Plant, the Moscow Krasnyy Proletariy Machine Tool Building Association and the Yakutsk Scientific Research and Planning Institute of the Diamond Industry have yielded a considerable impact for the national economy.

The problem of combining sociological theory with the practical activity of party committees, state organs and labor collectives received thorough coverage at the plenum. Now the overwhelming majority of major sociological studies are being conducted either under the direction of or jointly with party organizations. Much work is being performed, and the question of increasing the scientific methods level of research and disseminating sociological culture among the party, soviet and economic aktiv is becoming so much more pressing. It seems that sociological themes should be included in the curricula not only of universities of Marxism-Leninism, but also of party schools and the courses for the improvement of skills, which operate at them.

Nearly all those who addressed the plenum spoke about imminent problems of the organization of sociological education in the country. It was noted that today there is in fact no field of public activity which has not experienced a need for the study of the mechanisms of the functioning and development of social systems. And the shortage of sociology specialists is now very appreciable. The lack in the country of a state system of higher sociological education is showing. For many years this question has been raised, but a solution has not been found. Meanwhile, at a number of higher educational institutions of the country there are already chairs, departments and laboratories of applied sociology, series of lectures are given and textbooks have been published. In short, the base has been readied to begin instruction in the specialty "sociologist" at higher educational institutions. It is advisable to create new departments in not only the philosophy, but also the economics and law faculties of state universities. All this will help not only to save many thousands of rubles, but also to eliminate the adverse consequences which sociological work, which is performed unprofessionally, entails. The questions of training junior scientific and technical personnel and retraining sociological personnel, the speakers in the discussion noted, are becoming just as urgent.

Another urgent problem, which was discussed in detail at the plenum--the organization in the country of a unified state sociological service--is closely connected with the problems of sociological education. The timeliness of such a raising of the question stems from the fact that the development and pursuit of a social strategy and tactic under the conditions of more and more complicated social development cannot be ensured except on a strictly scientific basis, with the use of special, if it can so be stated, "tracking equipment" of certain social processes or others. This step will make it possible, in particular, to avoid mistakes in the drafting and coordination of programs intended for the long-range future. What is meant is the development of the regions of Siberia and the Far East and the construction of new cities. At the plenum it was noted that in this sense favorable experience already exists. For example, a passport of the social development of the kray to 2000 has been drawn up in Krasnoyarsk.

Questions of the increase of the occupational standards of sociologists and of the ability to combine theoretical analysis with the interpretation of empirical material were at the center of the attention of the plenum participants. It was also noted that in recent decades sociology has developed in our country in breadth, but not in depth. Many works have been published which contain a stereotypic set of problems of an applied nature and cover only individual aspects, instead of making a systems, comprehensive study. In this connection the link of social theories with related scientific disciplines is assuming especially great importance. The interconnection of disciplines appears as a necessary methodological requirement when studying the socialist way of life, the attitude toward labor, the prospects of the development of familial and marital relations, the socialization of children and the interrelationship of the material and the spiritual.

Questions of the development of industrial sociology: the creation of social information systems, passports of the social development of labor collectives and vocational guidance systems, the reduction of the turnover of personnel, the improvement of the skills of workers and their adaptation in labor collectives, were touched upon at the plenum. All this work is performed by plant sociologists, as a rule, with the participation of collectives of higher educational institutions. However, the development of sociological services of enterprises is being checked by the fact that not all managers have yet completely realized the need for these services, a reliable tool of the management of social processes.

As in the past the problem of providing methodological and procedural assistance to plant sociologists remains urgent. Critical remarks were addressed to the Economic Commission of Komsomol, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR State Planning Committee, which are not enlisting plant sociologists in the drafting of the All-Union Procedure of the Social Planning of the Development of Collectives of Enterprises and Organizations. The time has come, the plenum participants believe, to draft and approve an all-union model statute on the sociological service of the enterprise.

A decree was adopted in accordance with the questions discussed.

On the same day the active members of the Soviet Sociological Association met with Professor Ulf Himmelstrand, president of the International Sociological Association, who was in our country as a guest of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Opinions were exchanged on questions connected with the preparation for the 10th World Congress of Sociology. It is planned to hold it on 23-28 August 1982 in Mexico City (Mexico). The theme of the congress is "Sociological Theory and Social Practice."

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## IN THE AZERBAIJAN DEPARTMENT OF THE SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 173-175

[Article by A. S. Shakir-zade]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Department of the Soviet Sociological Association was founded in 1976 and now unites more than 300 specialists, as well as 36 collective members. Two branches and 11 scientific research sections on problems of the village, ideological work, labor and planning, science, education and culture, scientific atheism, international relations, the family and daily life, youth, law, ethnosociology and sociolinguistics have been set up within it.

The All-Union Applied Science Conference "The Formation of an Active Position in Life: The Experience and Urgent Problems of Moral Education"<sup>1</sup> (April 1979), which was held in Baku and in the preparation and holding of which Azerbaijan sociologists took an active part, promoted in many ways the development of sociological research in the republic. The conference played a perceptible role in the further increase of the ideological and scientific level of research and directed the attention of sociologists toward the study of the most urgent problems of the communist education of the workers.

The promotion of sociological knowledge is one of the main directions of the activity of the department of the Soviet Sociological Association. Permanent lecture bureaus on Marxist-Leninist sociology have been set up in the republic. Social scientists speak on radio and television and appear in the periodic press. The applied science conferences, which have been held by the department of the Soviet Sociological Association jointly with the republic House of Political Education imeni S. M. Kirov, the Znaniye Society and the Baku Zonal Komsomol School, should be especially noted. Conferences were devoted to the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin and to the 60th anniversary of the Azerbaijan SSR and the formation of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

The collective members of the Soviet Sociological Association--the republic House of Political Education imeni S. M. Kirov of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (Deputy Chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan V. G. Mamedov, a member of the Soviet Sociological Association, is the head)--are performing considerable work

1. See SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1979, pp 202-209.

on the promotion of sociological knowledge. A lecture bureau and a people's university for Marxist-Leninist sociology and social psychology are in operation here. The first graduation of students of the university took place in May of this year. The sociologists of the House of Political Education regularly conduct studies on various aspects of party agitation and propaganda. The results of these studies are used extensively in the practical work of party organizations.

The republic Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting is using its means skillfully for the promotion of sociological knowledge and the study of public opinion, the demands of the television audience, the effectiveness and popularity of certain broadcasts or others.

Republic sociologists are devoting much attention to the study of the problems of culture and daily life of the population. The Sector of Archeology and Ethnography of the Institute of History of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, which is a collective member of the Soviet Sociological Association (the director is Corresponding Member of the Republic Academy of Sciences Professor I. G. Aliyev), has conducted a number of ethnosociological studies, during which the everyday family traditions of Azerbaijanis and the changes in the daily life and culture of the rural population of the republic were studied. The problems of the modern working class family (in Sumgait and Mingechaur) and the rural family (in the Nakhichevan-skaya ASSR) and of the family life of Azerbaijanis living in Eastern Georgia have also been studied.

Works prepared and published by a collective member of the Soviet Sociological Association--the Institute of Economics of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences (the director is Corresponding Member of the Republic Academy of Sciences A. A. Nakhmudov)--have been devoted to urgent problems of the village. The study of demographic processes and their influence on the formation of the manpower resources of the republic is the theme of another study conducted under the direction of Soviet Sociological Association member Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor Sh. M. Muradov, chief of the Department of the Reproduction of Manpower. This department has made a study of the socio-economic problems of the population and demographic development of Azerbaijan. Practical suggestions for republic party and soviet organs were prepared in accordance with the results, the findings of the scientists have been used in drafting and refining the plans of the social development of labor collectives.

Studies devoted to urgent problems of the society of mature socialism have been conducted by sociologists of the Baku Higher Party School, the institutes of economics, philosophy and law and history of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences and other scientific institutions. Much attention is being devoted to the study of various aspects of the Soviet way of life. In recent years alone works by G. I. Sharaliyev ("Kommunisticheskoye stroitel'stvo i byt" /The Building of Communism and Everyday Life/), A. S. Shakir-zade ("Sovetskiy obraz zhizni" /The Soviet Way of Life/), I. Z. Ismailov ("Sotsialisticheskiy obraz zhizni" /The Socialist Way of Life/), R. D. Azimov ("Sem'ya i нравstvennoye vospitaniye v usloviyakh razvitiya sotsializma" /The Family and Moral Education Under the Conditions of Mature Socialism/), N. G. Nadzhafov ("Nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i нравstvennoye vospitaniye" /The Scientific and Technical Revolution and Moral Education/), A. M. Shchukyuruy ("Rol' sotsialisticheskikh traditsiy i obyayev v ateisticheskoy vospitanii" /The Role of Socialist Traditions and Customs in Atheistic Education/) and others have been published on this theme.



The contacts of republic sociologists with the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other sociological centers of the countries are of exceptionally great importance for the further development of sociological science in Azerbaijan. The creative contacts include joint research, the delivery of lectures and reports and the holding of thematic seminars and applied science conferences. The study in the Azerbaijan SSR of the problems of the improvement of the socialist way of life, the social structure of society and everyday family relations, which is being conducted in 1980 by the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, should be noted.

Some gains are in evidence. However, sociological research so far has not been properly developed in the republic and does not always meet the needs of practice. The need to improve radically the organization of the study of social processes is correctly indicated in the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, "On the Results of the All-Union Applied Science Conference 'The Formation of an Active Position in Life: The Experience and Urgent Problems of Moral Education' and Measures on the Improvement of the Moral Education of the Workers of the Republic in Light of the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee 'On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work'."

Such important problems as the study of the socio-economic and ideological problems of mature socialism, the development of the socialist way of life under the conditions of the republic, the overcoming of survivals of the past and negative phenomena are still being solved slowly. There are too few studies on the problem of demography and applied sociology. In many ways this is connected with the small number of skilled sociologists. Life urgently requires their resident training in the republic itself. The History Faculty of Azerbaijan State University imeni S. M. Kirov, at which experience has been gained in the training of philosophical personnel, could serve as the base. The specialization of students could be the first step in this direction, even before solving the question about opening the appropriate department or faculty. The training of sociologists in graduate courses at the republic Academy of Sciences and at Azerbaijan State University should be expanded, a probation period of scientists, instructors and experienced workers at the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University, Leningrad State University and other large sociological centers of the country should be used regularly in practice.

The time has come, in our opinion, to establish at the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences an independent sociological center in order to conduct comprehensive research on urgent problems of the building of communism. It is also necessary to strengthen the organizational and creative contacts of the republic department of the Soviet Sociological Association with the central scientific research sections of the Soviet Sociological Association, to increase the scientific methods level of the research being conducted in the republic, to enlarge the composition of the association, to found new branches in Nakhichevan', Sumgait and Lenkoran' and to improve the sociological training of students at the universities of Marxism-Leninism, higher educational institutes and people's universities. The solution of these problems will afford extensive opportunities for the further improvement of sociological research in Azerbaijan.

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# MEETING OF THE SECTION OF FAMILY SOCIOLOGY OF THE SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 175-178

[Article by I. F. Dement'yeva]

[Text] During the past 15-20 years we have been witnesses to the rapid and, in many respects, fruitful development of sociological studies of the family. However, in spite of the close attention of the scientific community to the family, as in the past there are many unsolved questions in this area: the changes in the conditions of the vital activity of the family are giving rise to new problems which require study. The program of the scientific session of the Central Scientific Research Section of Family Sociology of the Soviet Sociological Association, which was held in Moscow in May of this year, can serve as confirmation of this. In addition to scientists of various specializations (sociologists, psychologists, lawyers, ethnographers, psychiatrists, demographers) a large group of experienced workers took part in it. The scientific centers of Belorussia, Georgia, Kirghizia, Lithuania, Turkmenia and Estonia and a number of large cities (Leningrad, Kemerovo, L'vov, Stavropol'), as well as scientific institutions of the capital (the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration, the Center of Population attached to Moscow State University, VNIIEKT of the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the Scientific Research Institute of Psychiatry of the RSFSR Ministry of Health, the Scientific Research Institute of General Problems of Education of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, the Chair of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the Family and Marriage Department of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee) were widely represented. The session was timed to coincide with the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin.

In accordance with established tradition the representatives of the scientific subdivisions acquainted the session participants with the state of the study of family problems. Candidate of Philosophical Sciences M. S. Matskovskiy told about the research being conducted by the Sector of Social Problems of the Family and Daily Life of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Its main theme is "The Family as a Factor of the Reproduction of the Social Structure of Socialist Society." Over the past year an interview-questionnaire (separately for the father, mother and child) has been tested. For the purpose of obtaining comparable data it is proposed to conduct the study according to a uniform program first in large cities, then in medium-sized cities and rural areas.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. B. Golofast acquainted the session participants with the work of Leningrad family sociologists. Within the framework of the theme "The Way of Life of Leningrad Workers" the group for social problems of the family of the Institute of Socio-Economic Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences engaged in the study of the way of life of the working class family. In the immediate future it is proposed to conduct a study on the theme "The Functions of the Family."

The sociological laboratory of the Kirghiz State University was represented at the session by its chief, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences R. Achylova. The laboratory staff members are making a comparative study of the way of life of the Kirghiz family in different regions. R. Achylova raised the question of the timely provision of sociologists with scientific information and of the coordination of the activity of the sociological centers studying family problems.

Last year an empirical study of the way of life of the family in Minsk and Krasnoyarsk was conducted, Professor N. G. Yurkevich related, by the forces of the scientific research problems laboratory of sociological studies of the Belorussian State University imeni V. I. Lenin. It is proposed to continue the study of the socio-psychological aspects of the educational function of the family.

The second part of the program of the scientific session--an interdisciplinary discussion on the results of the study of the family--opened with the report of Doctor of Medical Sciences V. M. Lupandin (RSFSR Scientific Research Institute of Psychiatry). He characterized the current status of the problem of mental retardation. It has been established that the highest level of crime and abnormal behavior is characteristic of the mentally retarded. The causes of this phenomenon, in the opinion of the speaker, are connected with hereditary factors and an unfavorable social environment. Therefore preventive measures should be directed first of all toward the family.

The following correlation was established: among the parents of mentally retarded children only about 20 percent had received a secondary and higher education. In speaking about the forecasts for the future, the speaker noted that by the year 2000 an absolute increase of mentally retarded by 1 percent is possible. In the Soviet Union a program to prevent an increase of the number of mentally retarded has been drawn up and has received the approval of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the USSR Academy of Sciences. When implementing it, it is important to specify clearly those categories of the population, among which the reproduction of mentally retarded exceeds the average indicators.

Candidate of Economic Sciences A. G. Volkov (Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration) specified the marginal social problems which are of interest to both demographers and sociologists. The intensive process of the nuclearization of the family, which is now being observed (according to the data of the 1979 census the number of nuclear families had reached 66.9 percent), will continue in the future, but the level of the possible increase of their number with allowance made for a number of social factors is not changing. The study of this phenomenon, just as the problem of single people, is of mutual interest for demographers and sociologists. According to the data of the last census, there are about 30 million single people in the country, or 11 percent of the population, and

in recent years their number has increased by 23 percent, while the population has increased by 9 percent.

Among the other questions, the solution of which requires the joint efforts of sociologists and demographers, are the relationship of divorces to migration and the age of marriage, the correlation of legally registered and unregistered marriages and premarital sexual relations. The problem of the death of a spouse is also becoming more and more acute: in the past 10 years the number of cases of the death of a spouse increased as compared with the preceding decade from 50,000 to 970,000.

Candidate of Medical Sciences E. V. Ustinova (Scientific Research Institute of Psychiatry of the RSFSR Ministry of Health) told about the results of the investigation of families in which there are mentally retarded children. As it turned out, among the parents of such children as compared with parents from the control group the proportion of people not only with a low level of education (respectively 25 and 12 percent) and occupational skill, but also with a greater susceptibility to drunkenness is high. At the same time an increase of female alcoholism is being observed. The children in such families are notable for greater emotionality and low intellect. Touching upon preventive measures, E. V. Ustinova emphasized the importance of the early diagnosis of mental retardation. A differentiated approach to children with different forms of mental retardation and the use of various rehabilitation methods depending on its degree are important. A necessary condition of the socialization of such children is their training according to a special program, and not in the general educational school.

The statement of Candidate of Economic Sciences L. Ye. Darskiy (Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration) was of a polemic nature. As studies have shown, in recent years some, it would seem, settled social laws have been undergoing changes. For example, it was believed that the level of the birth rate is inversely proportionate to the level of education of the individual. However, in the past decade spouses having a secondary education have been characterized by the highest birth rate. Among people with an elementary education the level of the birth rate is low. An accumulation of pathologies of various types is probably occurring in this group. The second example concerns divorces. According to the generally accepted point of view, the most unstable marriages are early marriages, but of late the largest number of divorces has been characteristic of marriages contracted at the age of 30-35, while the smallest number has been characteristic of the age of 22-23. A tendency toward a sharp increase of the age of those getting married and toward the legally unregistered marriage is also being observed.

D. Ya. Kutsar (Computer Center of Tartu State University), the writer Yu. B. Ryurikov, V. A. Sysenko (Center of Population of Moscow State University) and Candidate of Medical Sciences B. V. Lavryashin (Kemerovo State University) also spoke during the discussion on the problem of interdisciplinary studies in the area of the family.

The third part of the program of the session was devoted to the improvement of the family service, which was recently organized everywhere in the country. Like any new initiative, the family service is experiencing difficulties of growth and is running into unanticipated problems. Doctor of Medical Sciences Professor A. M. Svyadoshch (Family Life Advice Bureau, Leningrad) opened the discussion. The Leningrad

advise bureau is performing work in the following directions: preparation for family life, the psychology of relations in the family, the psychology of intimate relations between spouses. The speaker noted the difficulties connected with the limited means of mass information and propaganda in this area. One of the most important problems now facing the family service is the elaboration of measures of the sociopsychological protection of the individual in a situation of the uncertainty of one of the spouses in their sexual competence. Various deviations in behavior: drunkenness, roving (the frequent change of place of residence and work) and so on, can be the consequence of such self-perception of the individual.

Abundant experience in the area of family counselling has been gained by the Vilnius Office of Family Relations, First Neuropathologist of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Health Ch. S. Grizitskas told those who had gathered about this. Work on the introduction to everyday family culture and on the preparation of young people for family life is being performed extensively in the republic. Offices of family relations, at which psychologists, psychoneurologists and urologists give advice, are in operation in five cities of Lithuania. The main problems which the specialists face in the process of work are the difficulty of treating female sexopathology, the lack among spouses of communication skills and the culture of interrelations, the lack of sex education of young people, the absence of harmony between the sexes. Frequently it is necessary to teach a woman the ability to be friends with a man and a man the ability to love a child.

Information on the tasks and nature of the work of the Family and Marriage Department of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee was given by its chief, A. F. Severina. Organized recently, the department needs the assistance of scientists. This concerns, in particular, the preparation of young people for family life, the elaboration of measures of assistance to the family and the ascertainment of the causes of divorces. Empirical studies of the indicated problems are a very vital task.

N. A. Pavlovich gave a report which generalized the materials of the L'vov Office of Family Relations. In the process of working with visitors three groups of conflict in the family were identified: emotional, fundamental (the loss of mutual understanding and the lack of common interests) and everyday. The staff members of the office studied the relationship between the level of conflict in the family and the behavior of children. The analysis showed that the divorce of parents affects the behavior of children differently depending on their age.

The report of Candidate of Psychological Sciences V. V. Stolin was devoted to the work of the psychological advisory center attached to the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences (Academician of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences A. A. Bodalev is the chief). The main goal of the center is to assist families which are experiencing difficulties in raising their children. In the opinion of psychologists, it is impossible to study the relations between parents and children in separation from the family emotional climate as a whole.

N. V. Malyarova (Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences) delivered a report on family therapy methods in the practice of family counselling of the United States. Among the approaches developed by American scientists she singled out the systems, communicative, psychodynamic and other approaches. The methods used in the United States are designed to assist psychologically healthy



clients and are oriented toward spouses who wish to save the marriage. A specific technique of family therapy: cognitive charts, personality matrices, a "family sculpture," the family sociogram, the contact technique, bibliotherapy and others, corresponds to each approach.

The work of the section concluded with the statement of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor A. G. Kharchev (Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences), who summarized the discussion of all three groups of problems, having stressed the need for the further improvement of the coordination of scientific studies of the family, the increase of their procedural reliability and practical effectiveness. Empirical information, which merely states facts and interrelations, needs to be raised to the level of broad theoretical generalizations, the identification of trends and laws. Only on this basis is it possible to elaborate high quality recommendations for practice. The members of the section still have to do much work on the substantiation of unified indicators and principles of the grouping of empirical material and on the refinement of the conceptual system.

Further, the great importance of the strengthening cooperation among family researchers, who represent different sciences and scientific traditions, was noted in the statement. This cooperation is enriching sociological problems substantially and is increasing the effectiveness of research. Apparently, the time is coming, the speaker noted, when the enormous potentials of the interdisciplinary study of the family will be fully revealed.

In the solution of the questions connected with the activity of the family service it is necessary to focus on three directions: the scientific, the procedural and the administrative. On the scientific level it is necessary to determine clearly the potentials and tasks of the family service, to elaborate more thoroughly the problems of conjugal compatibility, the prevention of childlessness and the birth of children with deviations from the psychological and physical norm, the overcoming of intrafamilial conflicts. Scientists also have to participate more actively in the generalization of the experience of the first years of activity of the family service and in the improvement of the methods and organizational forms of their operation. Apparently, the family service should have an all-union information bulletin and a firm legal status. In conclusion A. G. Kharchev called upon family researchers to strengthen the ties with party organs and state institutions, which are studying questions of marital and family relations and demographic policy.

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## STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 178-181

[Article by M. Ye. Ashmane and V. V. Cherednichenko]

[Text] The Interrepublic Scientific Conference "The Social Structure of the Developed Socialist Society," which was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia, was held in Riga in March 1980.<sup>1</sup> The sociological centers of the Baltic republics were widely represented at it.

A peculiarity of the conference, Academician of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences V. A. Shteynberg (Riga) noted in the opening address, is the use of the integrated interdisciplinary approach to the study of the social structure of socialist society. The composition of the participants, among whom were sociologists, historians, philosophers, economists and lawyers, to a considerable extent is also governed by this. The close cooperation of the scientific centers of the Soviet Baltic republics is also significant.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor F. R. Filippov (Moscow), who spoke at the plenary meeting, examined a number of pressing questions which arose in connection with the changeover from local to regional, all-union and international comparative studies on the theme in question. The speaker analyzed four groups of such questions. First, under the conditions of the increase of the social homogeneity of Soviet society it is necessary to focus attention not only and even not so much on the study of the still existing social differences as on the process and specific mechanisms of overcoming them, and the increase of the social unity of society. The study of the objective dialectics of the elimination of the reproduction of social

1. The conference was organized by the Department of Social Sciences of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, the Institute of History of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences and the republic Znaniye Society. The Institute of Party History attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Latvian Department of the USSR Philosophical Society and the Baltic Department of the Soviet Sociological Association also took part in the preparation of the conference. A collection of the themes of the reports was published by the opening of the conference ("Sotsial'naya struktura razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The Social Structure of the Developed Socialist Society], Riga, 1980, 288 pages).

differences, the changes in the makeup and structure of classes and social groups, the development of marginal strata, as well as the interrelationship and interaction of the changes in the socio-economic traits of classes, social groups and strata with the increase of the social activeness and shifts in their spiritual makeup is especially important. Second, not only the objective trends of the change of the social structure, but also their reflection in the consciousness of people merit attention. The role of the social policy of the CPSU and the socialist state in the homogenization of Soviet society requires thorough study. Third, the regional peculiarities of the dynamics of the social structure and social shifts should be studied more thoroughly. Fourth, the criticism of bourgeois and Maoist ideology with respect to these problems must be intensified even more.

In the report of Candidate of Historical Sciences E. A. Zhagar, which is filled with specific material, the object of the social structure should be examined in dynamics. For Latvia, as for the other Baltic republics, the historical studies describing the status of classes and social groups in 1940, on the eve of the restoration of Soviet power, are of great importance.

Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Yu. Karlyun (Riga), who examined questions of the development of the industrial-agrarian detachment of the working class and the activity of the Communist Party of Latvia in this direction, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences E. E. Murniyek (Riga), who advanced the methodologically important problem of the interrelationship of the social structure of socialist society and the way of life of the population, also spoke at the plenary meeting.

The processes of the formation of social homogeneity in the Baltic republics were the main topic of discussion in the section "General Questions of the Study of the Social Structure." In the reports of I. Apine (Riga), M. Irbe (Daugavpils), A. Yasmontas and L. Kastanauskayte (Vilnius) the trends and prospects of the convergence of classes and social groups in the area of political life and culture were examined in close connection with the processes of the development and convergence of the socialist nations. E. Stumbina (Riga), after analyzing the dynamics of the social composition of the representative organs of state power of the Latvian SSR, drew the conclusion that the development of the social structure of the republic is reflected in it.

The question of the content of some concepts which characterize the social structure, particularly "social homogeneity" and "social differences," aroused debate at the conference. Thus, A. Podryadov (Riga) and A. Mirikas (Vilnius) interpreted social differences as the differences which result not only from the class differentiation of society, but also from the occupational structure and the role of social groups in the system of social control. M. Kruminya (Riga) indicated in this connection the need for the refinement of the category and conceptual system of the theory of social structure and the bringing in line with it of the system of gathering the appropriate information within state statistics.

The report of E. Rannik (Tallinn) was devoted to the trends of social shifts in the Estonian SSR. The speaker analyzed the changes in the directions and nature of social mobility in recent years, particularly the decline of the rate of interclass shifts and the establishment of equilibrium in the shifts between the working class and the peasantry. It was also noted that the balance of interclass mobility of workers has been transformed from a negative into a positive balance.

Questions of the methods of studying the social structure were examined in the report of I. Klyavin'sh (Riga), who proposed to determine the representativeness of a sample on the basis of the comparison of the values of the indicators being studied in the sample and the so-called populations of comparison. D. Turaykite (Vilnius) directed the attention of the conference participants to the need for the unification and standardization of the methods of studying the sociopolitical activeness of workers for the purpose of obtaining comparable results.

During the discussion in the section "The City and the Development of Its Social Groups" two approaches to the study of the structure of the urban population were outlined: the analysis of the social structure of the workers of specific enterprises or individual socio-occupational groups of the urban population and the examination of the social structure of the city as a whole in the interrelationship of its individual elements. R. Grigas (Vilnius) proposed a multilevel model of the social organization of the enterprise, which he developed within the framework of the first approach, A. Ivanov (Riga) proposed an operational definition of the concept "regular worker," which at present is used extensively in applied research. The definition includes 15 indicators, including a length of service of not less 10 years and a skill category of not lower than the fourth category. L. Mishkenene (Vilnius) dwelt on the problems of taking into account in the plans of social development the peculiarities of the labor of women. E. Sviklas (Vilnius) proposed the use, with slight modification, of the standard methods used at production enterprises in drafting the social structure section of the plan for the social development of higher education institutions.

Having traced the dynamics of the size of the sectorial structure of the working class of the Latvian SSR, I. Berzinya (Riga) showed that beginning in the 1970's the absolute number of industrial workers has practically stabilized in Latvia and the further development of the working class is taking place by means of the improvement of its skill and occupational structure. V. Cherenkov (Riga) spoke about this trend (with respect to construction workers) in his report. However, the study of the social structure of the city, D. Mikhaylov (Tallinn) indicated, cannot be limited to the framework of the first approach. In his opinion, the territorial community--the residential rayon, the housing tract--should be the object of study. V. Ionaytis (Vilnius), P. Eglite, A. Nepomnyashchiy (Riga) and A. Klichus (Vilnius), who spoke in the section, gave an account of the results of the surveys conducted by them, which were devoted to various aspects of the life of the urban population.

Questions of a methodological nature were at the center of attention of the participants in the section devoted to the problems of studying the social structure of the countryside. The discussion of the content of the concept "kolkhoz peasantry" aroused particular interest. A. Krastin' and V. Karolyun (Riga) raised the question of the need for a more detailed study of the social consequences of the industrialization of agricultural production, the peculiarities of the manifestation in the countryside of the leading role of the working class, particularly its agro-industrial detachment.

Primarily the results of the Baltic portion of the international comparative study "The Higher School as a Factor of the Change of the Social Structure of Society" were discussed in the section "Problems of Young People and Education." The need for the interpretation of the detected differences between the individual

occupational detachments of students was emphasized in the statements of F. Filipov (Moscow) and A. Matulenis (Vilnius). Having generalized the data of the study, I. Laumyanskayte (Vilnius) came to the conclusion that social factors are of great importance in the formation of these detachments. Thus, the contingent of medical and creative higher educational institutions consists mainly of people from families of the urban intelligentsia, while rural young people and the children of workers are represented more extensively among future engineers, educators and agricultural specialists. In the opinion of O. Solotareva (Tartu), these differences form during the period of training in secondary school at the stage of the formation of life plans.

Using the data of a survey of students of pedagogical higher educational institutions, Ya. Krutskikh (Riga) clearly showed: the peculiarities of the individual socio-occupational detachments of students are being displayed more vividly against the background of the elimination of class differences. The results of the study of student families were cited in the report of I. Trapentsiyere (Riga). Students who are married and especially who have children for the most part differ favorably from students without families with respect to studies, progress and the seriousness of their aims in life.

The results of the study of the aims of students by the methods of factor analysis, which were presented in the reports of V. Cherednichenko (Riga) and Yu. Saarniye (Tartu), attracted much attention. G. Matulene (Vilnius), M. Tal'nyutayte (Vilnius) and G. Batygin (Moscow), who spoke afterwards and on the whole rated favorably the use of factor analysis in studying aims, indicated the need for a stricter approach to the content interpretation of the obtained data. The reliability and validity of the reference data, the level of which often leaves much to be desired, is of particular importance when using the indicated method.

The work of the section was not limited to the framework of the studies of the higher school. I. Ozolinya (Riga) set forth the methodological principles of studying the level of atheistic conviction of school children and the results of a survey conducted on this theme, while E. Klepikov (Riga) reported on the system of measurement of the effectiveness of the vocational guidance of school children and the occupational adaptation of young workers, which was introduced at the enterprises of the Radiotekhnika Production Association.

Summarizing the conference, Doctor of Historical Sciences V. I. Savchenko noted the increased level of the studies of the social structure, which was reflected in the reports and announcements of the conference participants. The qualitatively new stage of scientific developments resulted, on the one hand, from the close cooperation of specialists of the Baltic republics, who are conducting joint research projects on a sound procedural basis, and, on the other, from the integrated interdisciplinary approach to the solution of raised problems, in case of which not only the narrow sociological, but also the philosophical, historical, economic and legal aspects of the problems of improving the social structure of the developed socialist society are taken into account.

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## THE EXPERIENCE OF TEACHING SOCIAL PLANNING METHODS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 181-184

[Article by B. P. Kutyrev and Yu. P. Voronov]

[Text] The training of specialists in social planning and the improvement of their skills are a very important task. Much attention is being devoted to this in the Siberian and Far Eastern departments of the Soviet Sociological Association. Here seminar-schools have been chosen as one of the forms of instruction of personnel. The first class was held on 16-21 October 1979 in Vladivostok. Representatives of the cities of not only Siberia and the Far East, but also the European part of the country gathered in the classrooms. At the plenary meeting Candidate of Philosophical Sciences G. S. Khokhlyuk (Khabarovsk) delivered the report "The Tasks of Social Planning in Light of the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers 'On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality'; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. N. Turchenko (Novosibirsk)--"Urgent Problems of the Development of Sociology"; Candidate of Economic Sciences B. P. Kutyrev (Novosibirsk)--"The Present Stage of the Development of Social Planning"; Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. P. Voronov (Novosibirsk)--"The Main Problems of Improving Social Planning at the Present Stage"; P. T. Alekseyenko (Khabarovsk)--"The Role of Party Organizations in the Management of the Planning of Social Development"; Doctor of Legal Sciences P. S. Degal' (Vladivostok)--"The Prevention of Antisocial Manifestations and Its Reflection in the Plans of Economic and Social Development"; N. P. Moskvichev (Vladivostok)--"The Planning of the Social Development of the City."

The speakers noted that the improvement of planning involves first of all the determination of its strategic goals. The lack of complete clarity in the question of the correlation of the main directions of planning, such as the growth of production efficiency, the increase of the material and cultural standard of living of the people and the comprehensive development of the individual, complicates the elaboration of constructive programs of social development and decreases their scientific and procedural validity. Practical experience shows that social planning often plays a secondary role as compared with economic and technical planning, while measures of a social nature are elaborated after the approval of the technical and economic tasks. As a result many social programs are oriented not toward their own goals, but toward the elimination of the adverse consequences of technical and economic decisions. This has the result, in particular, that many plans of social development are a set of desires, which are not backed by information on the real



possibilities and resources. It is necessary to change the nature of the work on compiling plans, which should consist not only in the elaboration of measures aimed at the achievement of the set standards, but also in the identification of the urgent problems of the development of collectives and the determination of the ways to solve them.

Often the plans consist of a number of sections which are poorly interconnected. As a result there is duplication of programs, the inefficient expenditure of assets and so on. There is one solution of this situation: the systems approach, the elaboration of comprehensive goal programs of social development, the selection of the optimum variants of the achievement of the indicators being planned. Meanwhile, the compilers of the plans do not have procedural manuals for the development of comprehensive programs.

It is important not only to compile a plan competently, but also to implement it consistently. One of the main tasks here is the increase of the effectiveness of plans, their strict fulfillment. The revision of some ideas about the structure of the objects of planning is also a promising direction. The plans should be oriented not only toward collectives and groups, but also toward individual people and should come down to each worker.<sup>1</sup> Such an approach will increase the effectiveness and the prestige of the plans of social development.

The seminar-schools discussed the enumerated problems in detail at the practical lessons. Those who had gathered came to the conclusion: in order to meet present requirements, the plans of social development should be a system of programs (in several versions) of the realization of the main socio-economic tasks facing one organization or another. The use of the "program approach" was prepared by all the theory and practice of social planning. The participants in the lessons, in particular, noted that the grouping of types of activity depending on the main forms of the satisfaction of needs ensures a great effectiveness of this method. This makes it possible to construct a "tree of goals," to determine the most important directions of social development, to outline the necessary measures, to seek resources and so on.

Of course, in the "program approach" the traditional structure of plans undergoes substantial change. Thus, the problem of improving the socio-occupational structure of the collective (which is now made into a special section) under the new conditions will be solved on the basis of the implementation of various programs. The mentioned method makes the plan of social development more specific and its structure integral and logical.

The most important condition of effective social planning is the continuous improvement of the plans. This is aimed at the optimum development of the organization and all its subdivisions.

Charts of the socio-occupational growth of the worker can serve as one of the means of the realization of the strategy of the continuity of development, the principle of social planning "to come down to everyone." This document is an agreement between the worker and the administration. It consists of five sections. The

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1. This approach was first formulated by L. N. Kogan.

directions of the growth of the worker are contained in the first section, for example: the increase of the skill category, position, the transfer to a workplace with more attractive working conditions or wage conditions, the increase of the level of education, the granting by the enterprise of various benefits (housing, travel authorizations to sanatoria and vacation homes and so on). The second section is assigned to the requirements which the worker should meet after a specific period, in the third the obligations of the administration on the implementation of the plan of socio-occupational growth, particularly the responsibility which the enterprise bears for the nonfulfillment of the assumed obligations, are established; the fifth contains the measures which ensure the effect of the plan (the certification of workplaces and positions from the point of view of their attractiveness for workers, the improvement of the technical equipment and the organization of labor, the allocation of living space and so forth).

The combination of programs of the development of the entire collective and the growth of its individual members increases the validity and effectiveness of the plan and is conducive to its successful fulfillment. Of course, such an approach to the drafting and implementation of plans is quite labor-consuming, it is also complicated with respect to methods. However, the obstacles should not overshadow the advantages of the program-goal method.

The second seminar-school on social planning took place in January-February 1980 in Omsk. It brought together more than 70 managers of the personnel and economic services of enterprises, experienced sociologists and so on. The school was faced with the goal of teaching the students to solve quickly and effectively various problems which arise in the process of compiling and implementing plans. The classes were conducted by active methods: specific situations were investigated, the appropriate stagings, brainstorming<sup>2</sup> and so forth were used. The experience showed that the participants should be specially trained for such lessons.

Another lesson of the Omsk seminars was: the drafts of plans are obliged to overcome the stereotypes which have formed when interpreting social processes. For example, the decrease of the turnover of personnel is usually examined on the level of the main problems facing the collective. However, the question of the turnover requires each time the consideration of a large number of factors. The following case was cited. At one of the leading chemical enterprises the turnover ratio was decreased to 10 percent as against 25 percent on the average for the city. The collective set itself the task of cutting this indicator in half during the 10th Five-Year Plan. But reality has convinced us that such a program is erroneous. The majority of those released are people of older age, who have the right to benefits (which are connected with work at a hazardous works) and are attempting to change occupation to protect their health. The desire to "attach" them in this case was in obvious conflict with the interests of the worker.

In the classes it was established: the shortage of original and effective decisions when developing plans results, in addition to unique "sociological stamps," from

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2. See E. Yanch, "Prognozirovaniye nauchno-tekhnicheskogo progressa" [*The Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress*], Moscow, 1974; "Rukovodstvo po nauchno-tekhnicheskomu prognozirovaniyu" [*A Manual on Scientific and Technical Forecasting*], Moscow, 1977.

the poor information of specialists. Many experienced workers, who take part in the planning of the social development of collectives, are poorly informed about the main directions of cooperation between the plans of the enterprise and the city. Various aspects of this problem were specifically characterized in the speech of Chairman of the Omsk City Planning Committee M. D. Zakharchenko; in addition it was shown how it is possible to achieve the greatest social impact with the cooperation of sectorial and territorial planning organs.

More than 60 sociologists, economists and staff members of personnel departments from Sverdlovskaya, Kurganskaya and Chelyabinskaya oblasts took part in the work on the next seminar-school, which was convened in March 1980 in Chelyabinsk. The majority of students submitted abstracts in advance. This made it possible once again to adjust the procedure of holding the meetings and to identify the group of the most important problems requiring thorough discussion. The questions of the planning of the development of individual workers and especially their social and occupational advancement were the central questions at the seminar. The students came to the conclusion: the means of solving the problems arising in this connection can be determined only after the prospects of the development of the enterprise are outlined.

The opinion was expressed that individual plans are of a limited nature, which stems from the ostensibly very few opportunities for promotion of a worker within a single organization and from the lack of guarantees of the fulfillment of the outlined measures. However, the generalization of the practice of compiling plans, which was undertaken in the classes, showed that the individual approach in itself makes it possible to find additional opportunities for the growth of the worker as compared with the plans of the organization. The realization of individual plans makes a person more enterprising and disciplined and increases his confidence and interest in the results of the labor of the entire collective.

Under present conditions the question of reorienting the activity of planning specialists toward the implementation of measures, which are truly necessary and are conducive to the elaboration of effective social programs, is becoming urgent. Experience shows: frequently the compilers of plans spend a large portion of their efforts and time on various studies, while losing sight of the detailed analysis of the results, the elaboration of effective recommendations and the substantiation of indicators. Another abnormality results in the fact that many studies in the end are unnecessary, since it would have been possible to arrive at the same conclusions by surveying several competent specialists. At the same time there are too few studies, in which the tasks of checking a specific hypothesis and of answering a vital question of the development of the collective are set. Reality faces the drafters of plans with the task of carefully preparing studies, evaluating the results in detail and taking into account what has already been done by Soviet and foreign sociologists.

Unfortunately, the effective use of the experience and knowledge gained has been complicated by the high turnover of workers who are engaged in the planning of social development. Among them there are usually many novices, whose training needs to be begun each time from the very start. In this connection it was emphasized at the seminar: the broadest possible group of staff members of the various services of the enterprise or organization should be enlisted in the compiling of plans.

The Applied Science Seminar "Social Planning and the Processing of Sociological Information" was held in Irkutsk on 15-23 May 1980. A general report on it was delivered by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences O. I. Shkaratan (Leningrad), who dwelt on some urgent problems of the socio-economic development of the country. The discussion of the report developed into a meaningful debate.

Doctor of Economic Sciences F. M. Borodkin (Novosibirsk) delivered a series of lectures on sociopsychological relations in small groups. When compiling plans the sociopsychological aspect of social development is usually placed in a special section. Meanwhile there are no measures, the content of which is limited to the establishment of specific psychological relations among the members of the collective. It may be a matter of the sociopsychological support of the measures of the plan, each of which should also be appraised from the point of view of the changes in the sociopsychological climate and in interpersonal relations. The lectures of F. M. Borodkin directed the attention of the audience precisely to this approach.

The results of the seminars attest to the effectiveness of the methods used for the training of sociologists and specialists in social planning. Their scientific potential and ability to solve problems which arise have been increased.

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ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF THE CONTROL OF SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT (NOTES FROM SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCES)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 184-186

[Article by A. V. Rusakov]

[Text] The scientific management of social processes is closely connected with the forecasting of the secondary consequences of technical and economic development.

The participants in the seminar-school in Krasnodar noted the extreme complication of the interaction of society and nature at the present stage. Today there is no need to prove that the ability to take into account the influence of the activity of man on the environment is one of the main demands on both the researcher and the production worker. When organizing production or any other type of activity of people their consequences should be taken into account and if necessary steps should be taken which would maintain the ecological equilibrium. The formation of the "ecological culture" of man plays a most important role in this. The general theory of systems, which formulates the important methodological principles for the comprehensive study of various objects, is the basis of the solution of these problems.

At the conference in Medeo Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor A. P. Reutov distinguished three criteria of effectiveness of the control of a system: the goal criterion (the direction of its development), the technical criterion (the quantitative characterization of its technical basis) and the ecological criterion (the degree of economy of the system). Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. I. Setrov believes that organization, the purposeful use of the system in case of a change in conditions can serve as such a criterion. The other criteria of effectiveness are of relative importance. In particular, the principle of economy "works" only in case of a shortage of resources. Attention was also directed to the level of control of the system--technological, economic and informational (L. A. Sokolova), the

The All-Union Symposium-School "Ecological Problems of Agriculture" (Krasnodar, October 1976), the All-Union Seminar-School "The Experience and Methods of Ecological Monitoring" (Zvenigorod-Pushchino, February 1979), the All-Russian Scientific Conference on Problems of the Socio-Economic Development of the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR (Saransk, May 1979), the Theoretical Seminar "The Dialectics of Scientific Knowledge About Management" (Kalinin, February 1979), the Third All-Union Conference on the Control of Systems Development (Alma-Ata-Medeo, October 1979), the Theoretical Seminar "The Dialectics of Social Development" (Leningrad, March 1980).



principles of its construction: the compatibility of the units on the basis of the unity of their technical equipment, the centralization of control, adaptation to extraneous influences, reliability and others (Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor I. A. Boloshin). In his report Doctor of Economic Sciences A. P. Rayatskii indicated that in the process of constructing a system it is necessary to take into account, on the one hand, the nature of its reaction with the natural environment and, on the other, the by-products and consequences of operation.

In our opinion, for all the value of the named approaches they inadequately take into account the complexity of the interrelations of the object with the environment. Of course, the separation of the production engineering system from the environment and the special analysis of its external contacts are conducive to a more careful consideration of the secondary consequences of its functioning, including the economic consequences, than in the case of the traditional notion of a system as being completely isolated. At the same time such models do not always reflect the real multilevel nature and complexity of systems, although they are convenient in the practical respect.

When studying a system, in our opinion, it is necessary to distinguish the object of the activity or influence of man, the system of interrelations between the object and the biosphere as a whole, the indicators of the effectiveness of the functioning of the system and of the optimality of these contacts (with respect to the results and consequences of the development of the object). The effective functioning of various systems in the structure of society can be ensured only upon consideration of all the factors (including ecological) which influence the vital activity of the object, as well as of the reaction of the system to the biosphere.

In this connection I would like to dwell on the statement at Saransk of Professor A. I. Sukharev, which was devoted to the role of agro-industrial complexes in the optimization of the interrelationship of nature and production. The point of view of a three-unit model of complexes is widespread among specialists: the sectors which produce means of production for agriculture; agriculture itself; industry which processes agricultural produce. However, it would be incorrect to limit the functioning of the complexes only to technical and economic tasks. Under the conditions of socialism agro-industrial associations are called upon to solve in combination ecological, economic and social problems. The speaker proposed a six-unit model of the agro-industrial complex: the production of means of production for agriculture and related subdivisions; agriculture as such; the procurement, storage and processing of agricultural produce; the production infrastructure (power, heat and water supply, vehicles and roads, the communications system); the social infrastructure (housing and municipal services, transport, communications, education, cultural institutions, medical service; social security, the types and methods of settlement); the system of control. The elaborated model is a complex, systems approach to the study and organization of one of the most important areas of human activity. It ensures the thorough consideration of the relations of nature and society in the sphere of agriculture.

Summarizing what has been said, it should be noted that the management of production on the basis of a model of the "complete" system conforms to the greatest extent to the tasks of the planned use of the resources of nature and society under the conditions of socialism. With such an approach the ultimate goal of the

organization of the interaction between all the units and levels of the social system becomes more definite. This goal is not only the output of a specific product and the reproduction of the technical and economic base, but also the reproduction of the environment itself as the most important condition of the vital activity of man.

The materials of the conferences attest that the questions of the theory of the control of systems development are of direct importance for the social sciences, including sociology. Their task is to show the mutual influence of natural processes and the system of production, distribution and consumption and to reveal the sociopsychological peculiarities of the activity of man under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution.

The general theory of systems makes it possible to determine the prospects of the optimization of the relations and interrelations of man with production and nature, as well as the directions of the improvement of the socialist way of life, and is conducive to the further development of the materialistic approach when studying social phenomena and processes. Social scientists are making a significant contribution to the elaboration of the theory of control of systems development, and first of all the problems connected with the influence of man on various spheres of nature and society.

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## NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 186-187

[Text] The Scientific Conference "V. I. Lenin and Sociology" was held at the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It was devoted to the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences T. V. Ryabushkin, director of the Institute of Sociological Research, opened the conference. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences V. S. Kruzhkov delivered the report "The Creative Development of Sociology in the Works of V. I. Lenin." Four sections: "The Role of V. I. Lenin in the Development of the Theory of Sociology and in the Study of the Social Structure of Society," "The Role of V. I. Lenin in the Development of Studies of the Sociological Problems of Labor and Communist Education," "Sociological Problems of the Study of the Way of Life and Population in the Works of V. I. Lenin" and "Lenin's Creative Heritage and Propaganda," did work. The conference became an important event in the scientific life of the institute.

B. A. Babin

The applied science seminar organized by the Penza City Committee of the party and the House of Scientific and Technical Propaganda was devoted to urgent problems of the theory, methods and practice of social planning at enterprises and organizations. More than 120 scientists and experienced workers from 30 cities of the RSFSR participated in its work. The seminar opened with the report "Urgent Tasks of the Improvement of the Comprehensive Planning of the Economic and Social Development of Labor Collectives," which was delivered by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. V. Dmitriyev, senior research associate of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee. The seminar participants were acquainted with the experience of compiling the plans of the social development of Penza industrial enterprises and organizations.

V. V. Markin, P. Kh. Zaydfudin

The Fourth Summary Soviet-Hungarian Meeting "Man of Socialist Society and the Processes of Mass Communication," which examined the long-range prospects of the development of research in the field of mass communication in Hungary and the USSR, was held in Leningrad on 2-6 June. A number of reports of Hungarian and Soviet scientists, which touched upon a wide range of problems concerning the activity of various institutions of mass communication, were heard. At the meeting the results of

cooperation were discussed and the plan of joint studies of mass communication for the next five years was outlined.

M. G. Yelizarova, V. V. Safronov

The interrepublic scientific conference held on 25-26 June 1980 in Kaunas was devoted to the problems of the moral and esthetic education of future specialists of the highest skills. The participants shared their experience of practical work at higher educational institutions of various specializations, examined a number of theoretical questions and determined ways to further improve the contact of the educational and training processes. The conference outlined the main directions of sociological studies of the moral and esthetic education of students.

Yu. P. Eydukas

An international scientific conference organized by the "Sociology of Education" Research Committee of the International Sociological Association worked in Paris on 6-9 August 1980. The conference was devoted to the theme "The Origin and Activity of Educational Systems," which was discussed by the participants at the meetings of 12 round tables. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor F. R. Filippov from the Soviet Sociological Association delivered a report.

Questions of the preparation for the 10th World Congress of Sociology in Mexico City were also discussed.

S. T.

The All-Union Scientific Conference "Sociological Problems of Deviant Behavior," which was organized by the Section of Deviant Behavior of the Soviet Sociological Association jointly with party and soviet organs, workers of public health, the militia and public education, was held in Batumi in June 1980. The conference discussed problems of the control of drunkenness and alcoholism in their connection with crime and disturbances of the peace. Recommendations were adopted, in which, in particular, the need to conduct interregional studies of alcoholism according to uniform methods was indicated. The conference participants spoke in favor of the development of a program of the anti-alcohol education of school children, the opening in the Institute of Sociological Research of a sector on the sociology of deviant behavior and the renewal of the publication of the journal TREZVOST' I KUL'TURA.

K. A.

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## THOUGHTS ON A NEW BOOK

### THE GENERAL IN THE PARTICULAR: SOCIOLOGICAL ESSAYS ON ESTONIA

Mo—w SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 188-194

/Review by Doctor of Historical Sciences Leonid Abramovich Gordon, chief of the Laboratory of Socio-Economic Statistics of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of the book "Sotsiologicheskiye ocherki o Sovetskoy Estonii" (Sociological Essays on Soviet Estonia), Yu. Arutyunyan and Yu. Kakhk, research directors and compilers, Tallinn, Periodika, 1979, 128 pages/

/Text/ One of the fruitful directions of Soviet sociological science involves the study of the regional and national uniqueness of modern social processes. To say nothing about the need to consider the specific local nature in such a multinational country as ours, the analysis of social phenomena with a breakdown by nations and regions facilitates the explanation of many all-union trends and laws. The monograph under review,<sup>1</sup> which is organized as a detailed historical sociological and ethnosociological description of the way of life of the main social groups of the republic, gives an example of the identification of general trends through the study of local and national phenomena. In the first parts of the book the sphere of labor is described, then the problems of family and cultural life are examined, in the last parts the everyday relations between nations are analyzed.

The most important merit of the book consists in the aim at identifying in Estonian material the more general traits of social progress, which makes the essays a notable phenomenon in sociological literature on questions of national and regional development.

Communist transformations have been accomplished in the Estonian SSR rapidly. At the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Estonia and the awarding of the Order of the October Revolution to the republic Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet V. V. Kuznetsov said: "Estonia today... is a highly developed socialist republic, an equal among equals in the friendly family of Soviet republics.... In a short time from the standpoint of history the national economy of the republic underwent enormous development, the material well-being of the workers increased significantly and continues to steadily increase, the distinctive, colorful culture of the Estonian people has begun to glitter with new facets."<sup>2</sup>



The intensive economic development is naturally speeding up social progress. And in this sense the description contained in the essays of the convergence of the material, cultural and personal conditions of life in the city and the countryside is of great interest. At the present stage this process is one of the main directions of the social development of the country. It is ensuring the movement toward the genuine social equality of the urban and rural population and at the same time is promoting qualitative transformations of agricultural production.

The equalization of the conditions of life in Estonian villages and cities has entered the final stage. Convincing evidence of this is the equalization of the per capita income of families: in the 1970's its amount was practically identical for residents of both types of settlements of the republic (p 48). The increase of the pay of agricultural labor to the level of wages in industrial sectors, which resulted from the increase of the efficiency of agricultural production, is the basis for this. In 1976 the average monthly wage in Estonian industry was equal to 186 rubles, while the pay of kolkhoz farmers was 184 rubles (p 30). The analogous indicators of all-union statistics differed at that time by 1.5- to 2-fold.

The level of the provision of modern housing is being equalized more slowly, although the Estonian countryside has also made appreciable progress in this respect. Today 31 percent of the rural population of the republic already lives in houses and apartments with all conveniences, including a bathroom. In the cities almost 55 percent of the population has such housing (p 49).

The data on the changes of migration flows and their scale are a kind of generalizing indicator of the convergence of the conditions of life of the city and the countryside. The steady predominance of the urban direction of migration, which is characteristic of the majority of regions of the USSR, is largely explained by the substantial differences in the cultural and general conditions of the city and the countryside. In Estonia since the late 1960's and early 1970's the movement of the population from the countryside to the city decreased to a scale which is quite comparable to the migration from the city to the countryside. Thus, in 1968-1969 the number of city dwellers who moved to rural areas of the republic amounted to 88 percent of the rural inhabitants of the Estonian SSR, who left for cities. Meanwhile for the USSR as a whole the total number of migrants from the city to the countryside scarcely amounted to 40 percent of the number of people who quit the countryside during the same years.<sup>3</sup> The authors cite materials of later studies: approximately 7 percent of the surveyed residents of the Estonian countryside would like to move to the city, but at the same time about 6 percent of the city dwellers were prepared to move to rural areas (p 98). The nature of the migration of the rural population of the Estonian SSR makes it possible to represent its current level as a specific stage of the process of the development of territorial mobility, which is connected with the overcoming of the substantial differences of the urban and rural way of life.

Given the relatively low level of urbanization of the region, the city with respect to the entire "system" of daily life differs sharply from the countryside and therefore has a comparatively low appeal for its natives. Thus, in Uzbekistan the proportion of urban residents is much lower than the all-union proportion (41 percent as against 62 percent on the average for the USSR) and it is not by chance that a negligible portion of the rural youth here aspire to move to the city (2 percent).

With the further urbanization and transformation of the rural way of life the population of the countryside is assimilating many values of city life, its overall mobility is increasing. If in this case the opportunities in the sphere of labor, just as the actual material, cultural and general conditions in the countryside are inferior to urban opportunities, a move to the city becomes desirable for large masses of rural inhabitants. A situation like this still remains, for example, in a number of oblasts of the RSFSR.<sup>4</sup> It is significant that 30-35 percent of the young people in the Russian villages studied by the authors of the essays intend to leave for the city in the near future.

Finally, at the next stage of urbanization there is no great difference in the standard of living and the way of life of the urban and rural population. The mobility of the rural population increases, but the direction of migration now is determined to a much less extent by the appeal of city life. This is precisely the situation in Estonia, where only 14-15 percent of the rural youth are thinking about moving to the city (pp 98, 121).

The decrease of the difference between the migration flows from the countryside to the city and from the city to the village does not at all mean a decrease of the mobility of the population in general and the rural population in particular. On the contrary, the development of Soviet Estonia has been accompanied by an increase of the diversity and intensity of migrations, including between the city and the countryside, and especially within rural areas. The decline of employment in farming and animal husbandry is a natural progressive trend of modern production. In Estonia it is being revealed quite intensively: the proportion of those employed in agriculture in the Estonian countryside is appreciable less than on the average for the country.<sup>5</sup> Therefore the equalization of the migration flows between the city and the countryside pertains in the Estonian SSR more to the rural population than to the agricultural population.

I think it would not be an exaggeration to say that the current situation in Estonia marks the beginning of a new stage of urbanization. Its specific nature is connected not so much with the growth of the urban population<sup>6</sup> as with the gradual extension to all people of the social and cultural opportunities which in the past were accessible primarily to city dwellers.

The overcoming of the backwardness of the rural way of life is integrally connected with the achievement of a qualitatively higher level of agricultural production and with the solution of the most important problems of the agrarian policy of the party. Of course, the agriculture of the Estonian SSR has its problems. For example, the output-capital ratio is appreciably lower than in many other regions of the country. But as a whole labor productivity in agriculture here is higher than the average for the country. This is making it possible with a smaller proportion of employed people to obtain more produce on a per capita basis. It is significant that in Estonia the harvest of cereal crops--and their production is by no means the main sector of agriculture of the republic--in practice is not inferior to the harvest obtained in regions with more favorable soil and climatic conditions.<sup>7</sup> In our opinion, the decisive role of economic, social and cultural factors in the development of agriculture is clearly revealed in all this.

In the broad historical perspective the convergence of the city and the countryside under socialism results precisely from the intensification of agriculture, from the

industrialization of farming and animal husbandry. However, at certain stages the improvement of rural life acquires a relatively independent nature, being not only the consequence, but also a condition of the further development of agriculture production. The importance of these changes increases as the proportion of the rural population employed outside agriculture grows. Precisely for this reason the party, when formulating the tasks of the present agrarian policy, along with the increase of the output of agricultural produce is advancing as a program goal the requirement to bring closer together the material, cultural and general conditions of life in the city and the countryside.<sup>8</sup>

One of the merits of the essays is that the authors were able to distinguish the independent role of such factors of the convergence of the city and the countryside as the utmost development of the infrastructure of the countryside, the development of a dense road network and the organization of the good operation of transport. The latter, in particular, enables the rural population of Estonia to go to the city regularly and without great difficulties. Thus, 86 percent of the surveyed inhabitants of the countryside can go to the city weekly or even several times a week, including 33 percent to Tallinn (p 108). The improvement of transport is a necessary and at times a most important element of the creation of truly different opportunities for meeting the sociocultural needs of the inhabitants of the city and the countryside: many cultural institutions--theaters, museums, concert halls and so forth--cannot be moved to the countryside.

Of course, the development of transport is not the only cause of the high rate of convergence of the life of the urban and rural population of the republic. Large capital investments in the development of the Estonian countryside (in the past 30 years on a per capita basis in the Estonian SSR they have been greater than on the average for the country),<sup>9</sup> the high standards of labor, the good organization of production, skillful economic management are of decisive importance.

The direct consequences of that stage of urbanization, through which Estonia is now going, are revealed in the intensification of agricultural production. Of course, urbanization by its nature is a multifarious and profound process. Its influence cannot be limited to only the socio-economic sphere. As the city and the countryside converge, the entire way of life of their inhabitants changes. Of course, the changes taking place in Estonia are the expression of some general trends.

In this respect the process of washing away the traditional, if it can be so expressed, folkloric principles of cultural life holds perhaps first place--both with respect to objective importance and with respect to the subjective keenness of perception by public opinion. Folklore culture is characteristic primarily of the patriarchal, pre-urbanized countryside. However, many elements of it will also remain alive for a long time in the city, especially if the population of the latter is formed within the framework of intensive urbanization, under the conditions of the rapid migration of millions of former peasants. Moreover, in everyday consciousness the traditional patriarchal forms of culture often act as the personification of national origin in general, and therefore they often continue to be sensed as a value even in the milieu in which their real weakening is occurring.

The example of Estonia, which, in our opinion, confirms visibly the universality, inevitability and progressiveness of the strengthening of urban forms of life, is all the more interesting. In economically and urbanly less developed regions the movement of the national communities toward a unified urban "order" of everyday culture is still only developing. However, such a situation is the result not of a different direction, but of the differences of the phases and stages of protracted sociocultural evolution.

The comparison of some indicators of the way of life of various peoples of the USSR is of great importance in this respect. (It should be noted that such a comparison is being made so completely as is done in the essays for the first time in Soviet sociological literature.) In our country the transition from traditional national to uniform, general Soviet and basically urban forms of life, which were previously characteristic of its most developed regions, is being completed in the sphere of labor and in many areas of material culture. Of course, the general urban material culture, which is becoming widespread, includes many national traditions, but as a whole it does not belong to any individual nationality.

The situation with spiritual culture is more complicated. Of course, there are spheres here as well in which the supplanting of folkloric means of acquiring spiritual values is taking place in all parts of the country at approximately the same pace. Thus, the mass media have a considerable influence on the cultural life of the overwhelming majority of Soviet people. However, in the area of tastes, partialities and preferences the weakening of ethnic folkloric values and traditions is not occurring uniformly among different peoples. And the decline of the folkloric principles in the cultural life of Estonia may seem an exceptional phenomenon. But upon closer examination the situation here is also extremely typical.

In this connection the materials of the essays on the attitude toward folk, particularly folklore, music in Estonia, the central oblasts of the RSFSR and Uzbekistan are as graphic as possible. Among Estonians it is preferred mainly by elderly people who live in rural areas (more than 70 percent of those surveyed of this category). Urban old people and people of the middle generation of the countryside for their most part no longer share such tastes--they are characteristic of not more than 20-30 percent of them. As for Estonian boys and girls (in both the city and the countryside), as well as Estonians of the middle generation in cities, they recognize folk music as the basis of their musical world only in quite rare instances (from 2 to 9 percent of those surveyed).

The break with folk music in the central oblasts of the RSFSR is somewhat less pronounced. This process has actually gone far only among urban young people (no more than 9 percent of them prefer folk music). Although the young people of Russian villages and middle-age city dwellers for their most part lean toward professional music, still a large proportion of people of these categories (35-40 percent) consider Russian folk songs and dances as their favorite type of musical art. Not only the older, but also the middle generation of the Russian countryside, as well as city dwellers of advanced years (70-80 percent of those surveyed) give almost complete preference to folk music.

Finally, in Uzbekistan ethnic folklore elements govern the musical world of the majority of the indigenous population. Even among urban Uzbek young people more



than 50 percent of those surveyed prefer folk music, while among middle-age city dwellers more than 70 percent prefer it. In all the generations of rural inhabitants, as well as among the urban elderly the preference of folk music is in evidence: in all categories 80-90 percent of those surveyed direct their attention to it (p 117).

As is evident, in Estonia the popular folklore current has decidedly ceased to influence the music world of man. It is not that this current has dried up--it is well known how they revere the folk song in Estonia--but it has joined the general stream of professional music, which lacks a clear-cut ethnocultural exclusiveness. Folklore has as if passed into the "museum" substratum of modern culture.

The difference here is only one aspect of the matter. A profound unity of the above-noted processes among all three peoples is evident from the same comparison. Among Russians, Uzbeks and Estonians the subsequent generations are less involved with popular folklore music than the preceding generations.

As a whole the essays make it possible to trace how the formation of general Soviet forms of urban life influences the development of national relations in Soviet Estonia, and throughout the Soviet Union. It must be recalled that the process is taking place against the background of and in interaction with the increase of the contacts between nations. The influx of manpower resources from other regions and the rapid increase of the multinational nature of the population of the republic are an integral aspect of the economic progress of Estonia. Apparently, the complication of the national composition of large regions of the country constitutes one of the leading trends of the further evolution of the Soviet people as a new historical community.

In the process of the increase of the multinational nature the weakening of the traditional national forms of life is becoming another factor of the further convergence of the socialist nations. The less people differ in the external forms of their material and spiritual culture, the more likely it is, other things being equal, that their contacts will affect the inner world of the individual and will lead to the mutual enrichment and convergence of the psychological mold of the associating national groups. Under present conditions the tendency for the psychology of ethnoes to converge is having a more and more obvious effect; traits of a general Soviet international nature are gradually developing from the national traits of individual peoples. The washing away of the specific ethnic nature of culture is facilitating the access of the elements of the culture of some nations to the mentality of others and is thereby becoming an additional "catalyst" of their movement toward future unity.

Of course, the convergence of the national psychology finds expression not in the mechanical increase of the similarity of the aims of people in life, but in the fact that the maintained and even increasing diversity of sociocultural types (groups) is losing its national coloring, among the nations living together the previously different quantitative correlation of these types is being equalized. The results of a factor analysis, which are cited in the essays, attest, among both Estonians and the representatives of the other nationalities of the republic it is possible--depending on the aims in life--to distinguish similar categories. They are distinguished first of all with respect to the orientation of the people



belonging to them toward sociocultural and labor activity. The ratio of the people for whom the main values of life are connected with labor and public activity and the active aspiration to assimilate the culture and the people who accept the course of life passively was approximately the same in all the national groups living in Estonia. In each national group both types in turn include people who are more oriented either toward the family, the home and labor or toward entertainment and contact with friends (pp 87-89).

The psychological consequence of the increase of the multinational nature and the washing away of traditional ethnocultural forms of life appears even more clearly when comparing the individual spheres of consciousness, particularly the aims in the sphere of the family and marriage, where national differences, as is known, are displayed especially strongly.

The attitude toward divorces in different national cultural spheres can serve as a concentrated expression of the convergence of family aims under the influence of economic and cultural development and contact between nations. The responses of city dwellers of Georgia, Moldavia, the RSFSR, Uzbekistan and Estonia to the question, how should a family person act, if a new strong feeling that he is independent arose in him, are cited in the essays. Should he leave the family, believing that it is impossible to arrange family life without sincere relations, or should he meet his obligations to the family and children no matter what? In Estonia among both of the most numerous nationalities the responses were distributed practically identically: 51 percent of the Estonians and 50 percent of the Russians living here reject divorce if there are children in the family, the remainder allow its possibility. In Georgia, Moldavia and Uzbekistan the national differences in the ideas about divorces are more significant: 67 percent of the Moldavians and 58 percent of the Russians living side by side with them, 73 percent of the Georgians and 58 percent of the Russians, 84 percent of the Uzbeks and 63 percent of the Russians reject divorces if there are children. In the RSFSR 54 percent of the Russian city dwellers hold similar views (pp 118-119).

Of course, the degree of convergence of family aims in many ways results not only from modern processes. The increase of the similarity between Russians and Estonians in this respect, other things being equal, should take place more rapidly than, say, between Russians and Uzbeks, simply owing to the greater similarity of the traditions of organizing the family. But the comparison with Moldavians, the underlying structure of whose family differs from the family foundations of Russians in approximately the same way as Estonians, convinces us that although mutual influence is felt everywhere, the convergence of the psychology of family and everyday relations is first of all achieved on the basis of an intensive economy and developed forms of urban culture.

At the same time it is necessary to caution against a too rigid interpretation of the data on the increase of the similarity of the Soviet nations at the present stage. The similarity of the social and cultural life of the peoples of the USSR even in those instances when it reaches such a level that the people of a different nationality cease to differ in their way of life and the main traits of their psychology, cannot be identified with the complete overcoming of national differences. National languages are of enormous importance in this connection. Usually they continue to function and develop under the conditions of the intensive convergence of the way of life of national communities.

Indeed, the language barrier little by little is disappearing everywhere in our country. In the same Estonia by the early 1970's about one-fourth of the Estonians (in the cities nearly two-fifths) spoke Russian fluently, while one-seventh of the non-Estonian population of the republic spoke Estonian.<sup>10</sup> According to the surveys of the authors of the essays, at industrial enterprises the proportion of Russian-speaking Estonian workers and employees came to approximately three-fourths of their number, the number of Estonian-speaking workers of other nationalities came to approximately one-third (pp 81, 116). However, the overcoming of the language barrier does not lead to complete linguistic unity. All the non-Russian population of one region or another may know Russian, use it as a means of intercourse between nations and at the same time use the native language in everyday life, in cultural life, in uninational labor collectives. During the next few decades such a prospect is realistic for the majority of Soviet republics, including Estonia.

It is also necessary to take into account the extreme stability of the national consciousness as such. Experience shows that even when people of different nationalities begin to speak the same language, moreover, when the traditional uniqueness of national characters recedes into the past, even then the people will retain for a long time year the sense of national affiliation, the feeling of their difference from people of a different origin than they are. In short, the increase of the similarity of the main aspects of the life of certain nationalities or others and the convergence of national characters does not yet mean the merging of nations into a unified whole. In particular, the level of similarity of national groups, which Soviet Estonia is approaching, is only a specific phase on the complex and long path to a society which knows no national barriers. At this phase there are no longer substantial differences in the way of life of people of different nations, but national divisions and national feeling are still preserved. As V. I. Lenin noted, national differences "will still be maintained for a long, long time even after the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale."<sup>11</sup>

Of course, the national question in our country has been completely solved "in those aspects of it, in which it passed to us from the prerevolutionary past. But national relations in the society of mature socialism are also a reality which is constantly developing and advancing new problems and tasks."<sup>12</sup> The sociological studies generalized in the essays facilitate the understanding of the essence of such problems in their dialectic relationship with the progress of national relations. It has already been stated that in socialist society the increase of the multinational nature of the population forms a mighty factor of the convergence of nations. However, under certain conditions the intensification of international contacts can also be accompanied by negative phenomena. The latter, as the authors of the essays justly note, arise for the most part under the effect of a unique psychological mechanism--the so-called transfer of discontent. It is characteristic of the everyday consciousness of many people to transfer the emotional discontent with certain circumstances or others of their life to completely different spheres of it. And if a person with such psychological traits lives in a multinational environment, the representatives of the other peoples easily become for him objects of the unconscious transfer of discontent. Making this general assumption more specific, the authors write: "Experience teaches us that if international contacts are of a fleeting, chance nature and arise at times in emotionally tense situations (a line at stores, an overcrowded bus and so forth), they can at times be accompanied by comments which offend national dignity" (pp 8-9).

In conclusion it should be stressed that the overcoming of national differences is a lengthy and complex process. Many formerly socially significant differences of the way of life, culture and aims of people in life, which are connected with their national affiliation, gradually disappear at a specific stage of it. This stage is characterized by an inevitable break with a number of national traditions and by an overall weakening of the national form of historical development. Such a break is often perceived as an irrecoverable loss of continuity. This, of course, is incorrect. In reality it is not a disappearance of traditions that occurs, but the replacement of one type of them by another, broader type. Traditions having a striking national coloring are replaced by traditions in which the national is dissolved in the international, the national content acquires an international general Soviet form.

However, changes in the emotional sphere of everyday consciousness take place from generation to generation, the erosion of the customary foundations of life for children seems at times like a violation, a loss of the "proper," "good" order of everyday life in general. Moreover, in recent centuries spiritual production--art first of all--existed in a national form. It determined to a considerable extent the originality, the individuality, the uniqueness of the human spirit. Trends which lead to the formation in the future of a culture which knows no national barriers can therefore arouse the feeling of a certain "mechanical" monotony of the world, the disappearance of its vivid picturesqueness.

On a rational level it is not so hard to understand the lack of conformity of such feelings to the real course of events. First, as was already mentioned, the overcoming of national differences will take a considerable amount of time. Second, when in the distant future "not only the convergence of nations, but also their merging"<sup>13</sup> take place, this process will lead to the overcoming precisely of the national differences, and this will by no means decrease the possibilities of the existence of other peculiarities--individual and group. Rather to the contrary, the freedom for them increases with the weakening of traditional national forms (in much the same way as at one time the disappearance of vivid local color opened the way for national cultural forms).

The complexity of overcoming national differences of culture and daily life is once again making it incumbent to recall the well-known thesis of Marxism-Leninism about the need for extreme sensitivity, caution in the control of the development of relations between nations. The completion of this process is conceivable only under the conditions of complete communism. Until then the national forms (of course, not in their patriarchal folkloric manifestations, but in their modern manifestations) will remain one of the conditions of the existence and enrichment of culture.

However, the respect of national forms of life and the acknowledgment of their importance should not obscure the objective prospect of social progress and the future unity of mankind. Thought about the times, "When peoples, feuds having been forgotten, will be united into a large family," has accompanied people for many centuries. More than 100 years ago in communist doctrine this dream was a scientific prediction and a moral ideal. Today the prediction is beginning to be realized. Tomorrow (of course, on a large historical time scale) it will become a reality of all mankind.

# FOOTNOTES

1. "Sotsiologicheskiye ocherki o Sovetskoy Estonii" /Sociological Essays on Soviet Estonia/, Yu. Arutyunyan and Yu. Kakhk, research directors and compilers, Tallinn, Periodika, 1979, 128 pages.
2. IZVESTIYA, 4 July 1980.
3. See "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g." /Results of the 1970 All-Union Census/, Vol VII, Moscow, 1974, pp 8, 36.
4. On the average for the RSFSR city dwellers make up 69 percent of the population (see "Naseleniye SSSR. Po dannym Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1979 g." /The USSR Population. According to the Data of the 1979 All-Union Census/, Moscow, 1980, p 4).
5. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g." /The USSR National Economy in 1978/, pp 266, 279, 365; "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.", Vol V, pp 200, 293.
6. According to the data of the 1979 census the proportion of city dwellers in the Estonian SSR--70 percent--almost does not differ from the corresponding indicator of the RSFSR--69 percent (see "Naseleniye SSSR...", p 11).
7. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g.", pp 10, 198, 206, 208, 221, 266, 274.
8. See "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 49.
9. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 g.", pp 10, 338; "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Estonskoy SSR v 1976 g." /The Estonian SSR National Economy in 1976/, pp 148, 156.
10. See "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 g.", Vol IV, pp 317-318; "Naseleniye SSSR...", p 24.
11. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 41, p 77.
12. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" /By the Leninist Course/, Vol 4, Moscow, 1974, p 63.
13. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 27, p 256.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### THE INDIVIDUAL UNDER SOCIALISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 195-196

[Review by V. N. Uspenskiy and K. I. Sarychev of the book "Sotsializm i lichnost'" (Socialism and the Individual), edited by L. M. Arkhangel'skiy, Moscow, Mysl', 1979, 265 pages/

[Text] The building of the material and technical base of communism, the development of socialist social relations into communist social relations and the process of cultivating the new man, as is known, are interconnected. The formation of the socialist type of individual, the labor and sociopolitical activity of the members of society in many ways govern the rate of its progress toward communism. The book under review is also devoted to the analysis of various aspects of this problem.

The work attracts attention by raising important and complicated questions concerning the individual as the object and at the same time the subject of social relations and by combining the comprehensive theoretical interpretation of the problems being raised with the analysis of extensive sociological material.

The questions broached in the monograph can be combined into two groups. The first covers the basic methodological principles of the comprehensive study of the individual, the second includes various aspects of the process of his cultivation and harmonious development.

The authors reveal the dialectic unity of the social determination and activeness of individuals. During the interaction of the individual and society both processes form, in their opinion, independent aspects of the single process of the formation and development of a person. Such a point of view seems to us very valuable scientifically. In particular, it makes it possible to expose the untenability of neo-behavioralism and other metaphysical notions of the individual. Their erroneousness, as is emphasized in the book, stems from the unsubstantiated extension of the principle of determinism (in its social Darwinist interpretation) to social processes.

An important theoretical and methodological conclusion is drawn in the monograph: at the stage of mature socialism the further increase of the real freedom of the individual enhances the role of the conscious choice by a person of the directions and forms of his activity. The analysis of the process of the development of the socialist type of individual, particularly his sociopsychological attributes, is made in the book precisely from this point of view.



At the same time it is correctly stressed that the unity of the freedom and responsibility of an individual is the most important attribute of the socialist type of individual, which characterizes his social activeness. It is embodied in a group of qualities which express the interrelationship of the public and personal interests of a person on the basis of devotion to communist ideals. Among such qualities there are distinguished a conscientious attitude toward labor, the unity of patriotism and internationalism, collectivism and others. To be sure, the outlined attributes do characterize the socialist individual. At the same time it should be emphasized that to a certain extent an attitude toward labor as a prime vital necessity is already characteristic of people at the state of mature socialism. The authors, in our opinion, inadequately assess the role of this factor in the development of the individual.

The formation of the socialist type of individual is possible only with his active participation in production labor, sociopolitical, cultural and other types of activity. Following the line of reasoning of the authors, let us note that their point of view makes it possible to use the structure and level of development of the social activeness of the individual as a criterion of the distinction of types of personality. Relying on the qualitative and quantitative indicators of the general types of activity, it is possible to construct an ideal model of the comprehensively developed individual, which will be a unique reference point, a standard of both the existing and the predicted state of the activeness of the individual. Consequently, the classification of the individual according to the structure of his social activeness is the methodological basis of the control of the social development of a person.

The authors of the monograph focus attention on the fact that the embodiment of socialist social relations in the corresponding traits and qualities of the individual will be accomplished to the same extent as the activity of the subject is governed by internal necessity, his needs. The latter are determined by the objective interests which ensue from the social status of people, the peculiarities of their way of life. The optimum resolution of the contradictions arising in this case is possible--and this conclusion is unquestionably correct--only from the standpoint of the interests of society as a whole.

The mechanism of the internalization of moral norms and traditions and their subsequent externalization, that is, the mediation of the individual conscience in the behavior and actions of the individual, is studied in the book. The extensive use of the data of psychology and sociology enables the authors to avoid abstract moralizing and to make a consistent concrete scientific analysis of the process of the "translation" of socialist social relations and social influences into the fabric of moral consciousness. Such an integrated ethical-sociopsychological approach made it possible to characterize various aspects of the formation of the spiritual world of the individual and to show its relative autonomy from the social milieu.

Interesting questions are raised in the section devoted to the comprehensive and harmonious development of a person. This process is the revelation and realization of the essential forces of the individual in various types of his vital activity. Examining in detail the main directions of the comprehensive development of the individual, the authors analyze in this connection the role and importance of culture.

A person, it is emphasized in the book, acts simultaneously as the object and subject of culture, while culture itself acts as a means and the result of the development of the individual. In our opinion, such an approach paves the way for the productive theoretical study and practical solution of the problem of the formation of the new man in the process of improving the socialist way of life. The latter is today the highest historical stage of the progress of culture.

In conclusion let us note: the authors basically succeeded in the attempt at a comprehensive solution of the questions raised. However, not everything was adequately elaborated. This, for example, pertains to the identification of the mechanism of the transformation of knowledge into convictions. In a number of instances we would like to see a closer connection of the examined questions with the practice of communist education. Thus, the available experience of social planning is poorly used in the section devoted to the formation of the individual in the labor collective. To be sure, such material would have helped to analyze more thoroughly the means of improving the mechanism of the educational influence of the production collective on the individual.

Of course, many other problems raised in the monograph await their solution. But the abundance of the theoretical and factual material presented makes it possible to describe the work as an important step in the philosophical and sociological interpretation of the processes of the formation and development of man under socialism.

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## DATA ANALYZING SYSTEMS IN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 196-197

/Review/ by V. F. Sbytov and V. P. Shchenev of the book "Informatsionno-analiziruyushchiye sistemy v kommunisticheskoy propagande" (Data Analyzing Systems in Communist Propaganda) by A. S. Kulagin, Moscow, Mysl', 1980, 228 pages/

/Text/ The problems of the information support of ideological work and the methods of studying its effectiveness are attracting more and more attention of researchers. The book under review generalizes the abundant experience of using sociological research in the practice of political educational work; the principles of creating data analyzing systems, the techniques of selecting the social characteristics of the objects of propaganda and the methods of operational data processing are examined in it.

By analyzing the experience of the practical use of data analyzing systems, A. S. Kulagin comes to the conclusion that their effectiveness depends first of all on the validity of the choice and the measurement of the characteristics of the process of propaganda. For the first time in Soviet scientific literature the author describes the structure of the data analyzing center, of which the following services are the main components: the statement of problems, the quality of information, measurement, data processing, data gathering, as well as data banks.

On the basis of the practical problems A. S. Kulagin proposes a new approach to the determination of the effectiveness of ideological educational work, of which "not the value itself of the specific structural characteristics, but the set degree of influence of one means of propaganda or another or a set of them on the end result" acts as the criterion (p 48).

The substantiation of the need and advantages of a permanent data gathering, processing and storage system occupies an important place in the book. Such a system ensures the more efficient organization and performance of research with allowance made for the specific nature of the problems being solved by propaganda.

The questions of the reliability of the indicators of ideological processes are examined in detail in the book. A. S. Kulagin correctly notes that during the measurement the accuracy of the estimate of the intensity of the properties is the most important thing, and not the search for numerical indices and the construction of uniform scales. Interesting examples of algorithms of such an estimate,

particularly the logical operations of conjunction, disjunction and negation, are cited in the book (pp 85-86, 141-145).

The author poses new important problems in connection with the analysis of the methods of constructing a sample. In the literature the main attention is directed to the methods of determining its representativeness. However, this is not enough for the efficient operation of a data analyzing system. A. S. Kulagin directs attention to the need for the assurance of the statistical adequacy of the data and the choice of methods of their coding for the purpose of including data on individual objects in the unified data system.

The suggestions contained in the book on the processing of large amounts of information which is hard to formalize are of considerable interest. The author proposes a model of the preparation and operational processing of data using computers, which has proven its worth in practice (p 154).

In examining the book of A. S. Kulagin, we would like to direct attention to several questions inadequately covered by the author.

The experience of many sociological studies has shown that in practice the need for the special conversion of empirical data into brief analytical notes, which contain specific conclusions and recommendations, often arises. The problem of drawing up the summary materials did not receive proper elaboration in the monograph.

It is possible to indicate the inadequate polishing of the style of exposition. In a number of places the author goes into unnecessary details of the gathering and processing of data. This, no doubt, complicates the understanding of the book by the reader who does not have special training. I would also like to speak about the quality of the printing design. Sociologists and party workers will turn to the work repeatedly; such publications must be produced in hardback, the name of the author must be indicated in greater relief.

To summarize, let us note the following: the monograph continues a series of books on the problems of using social data in the practice of management, the development of modern methodological means and hardware for these purposes. The experience gained in this area makes it possible to speak of the formation of a new scientific discipline--information systems in the structure of social control.

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CSO: 1806

## OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE AND THE ORIENTATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 198-199

/Review by F. R. Filippov of the book "Prestizh professiy i problemy sotsial'no-professional'noy oriyentatsii molodezhi" (The Prestige of Occupations and Problems of the Socio-Occupational Orientation of Young People) by V. F. Chernovolenko, V. L. Ossovskiy and V. I. Paniotto, Kiev, Naukova dumka, 1979, 214 pages/

/Text The prestige of occupations and its social functions in the mature socialist society for a long time have attracted the attention of sociologists. This concept is interpreted in very different ways, but the fact of the direct interaction of public opinion on occupations with the processes of the occupational and social shifts of people, with the occupational and social orientation of young people is universally acknowledged.

The majority of studies in this area are of a narrow empirical nature, they lack a broad theoretical approach to the problem; usually they are confined to the study of the occupational orientation of young people. The authors of the book under review go farther, attempting to solve the problem of the prestige of occupations on the basis of a serious theoretical analysis. At the same time--and it is also important to stress this--they attempt to connect their study with the needs of social practice, with the improvement of the socio-occupational orientation of young people.

The analysis of the correlation of the prestige of occupations with the nature and content of labor occupies an important place in the book. The authors correctly note that it is erroneous to identify occupational skills differences with social differences, as well as to ignore the connection between them (see p 6), and indicate the dependence of the choice of an occupation on the peculiarities of the social structure of the society, in which it is made: "...occupational orientation appears as some variant, a special case of social orientation" (p 24). On the basis of these considerations the concept "socio-occupational orientation" is examined in detail in the monograph.

It is possible, perhaps, to reproach the authors with the fact that they somewhat oversimplify the real process by attempting to interpret the convergence of people of primarily physical and primarily mental labor as the direct result of "the further improvement of technology," "higher stages of the automation of production and control" (p 15) or by regarding an occupation only as "a convenient empirical



indicator which characterizes in an indirect, mediated manner the status of a person in our society" (p 17). These displays of inconsistency in the interpretation of the relationship of the occupational and social division of labor in socialist society are perceived when reading the book as isolated inaccuracies. As a whole the authors' conception is a quite valid one, which develops the theoretical assumptions existing in the scientific literature on questions of the social structure of society, the social and occupational orientation of young people.

When analyzing the concept "the prestige of an occupation" the authors rely on numerous domestic and foreign publications, but, unfortunately, devote inadequate attention to the criticism of bourgeois sociological conceptions, as well as to the attempts at their objectivistic interpretation.

It is correctly noted in the book that various social objects can be evaluated from the point of view of prestige, but the prestige of an occupation is an evaluation of a special type because, first, it is not a separate individualized object, but a social institution that is being evaluated; second, the evaluation of the prestige of an occupation is formed primarily by "stereotyping." "A dual conversion is as if accomplished: the personal prestige of outstanding representatives of the occupation represents the prestige of the function (occupational--F. F.) or the institution, and then this functional (institutional) prestige is extended to each representative of the occupation, that is, is reconverted into personal prestige, but now no longer of the best, rather of the typical (average) representative" (p 41). As a result an inadequate, illusory understanding of the object may arise, the condition can be created for certain deviations or others of the evaluations of the prestige of occupations from their real status in society, from the objective needs of society for workers of a given occupation.

The authors examine in detail how public opinion forms and changes the evaluations of the prestige of occupations, what role the material and moral reward of socially necessary labor plays here, what the possibilities of the control of this process are from the point of view of the interests of socialist society, as well as the needs, abilities and aptitudes of the individual. The latter circumstance is especially important for the formation of the appeal of an occupation. The concept "the popularity of an occupation" as some generalization of the personal evaluations of its appeal is substantiated in the book. The separation of the three concepts--the prestige, appeal and popularity of occupations--is quite sound, it is of theoretical and applied importance (for example, when elaborating a system of empirical indicators).<sup>1</sup>

The analysis made by the authors of the reliability of the data on the prestige of occupations in connection with the list of occupations presented to the respondents and the order of their arrangement in the list, as well as the fact established by the study of the influence of the evaluation of the first occupation on the list on the evaluations of the subsequent occupations are interesting.

The results of the study, the influence of the prestige of an occupation on its appeal, the value orientations of school children and so forth are examined in the

1. Not everyone shares this view. See, for example, I. M. Popova, V. B. Moim, "The Prestige and Attractiveness of an Occupation," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1979, pp 83-90.

final section. The conclusion that the prestige of occupations has a comparatively weak influence on the occupational choice of school graduates merits attention: it shows to the greatest extent when choosing occupations of little and great prestige. This conclusion is important for controlling the process of the occupational orientation of young people. Unfortunately, the authors were not able to draw consistently enough their conception of the unity of social and occupational orientation. Thus, the occupational intentions of school graduates are studied separately from their social orientations (the concept "abstract type of orientation," which, in our opinion, is of little meaning and by which the same social orientation is essentially implied, is introduced instead of it).

In spite of the noted shortcomings, the work of the Kiev sociologists is a perceptible step forward in the elaboration of the problem of the prestige of occupations and its social functions.

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## CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS FUTUROLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 199-201

/Review by N. I. Zaykin of the book "Budusycheye. Real'nyye problemy i burzhuaznyye spekulyatsii" (The Future. Real Problems and Bourgeois Speculations), Sofia, Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1979, 251 pages/

/Text/ Much attention is being devoted in the works of Soviet and foreign Marxists to the criticism of futurology as a direct alternative to Marxist-Leninist doctrine and to the constructive theoretical elaboration of problems of the future.<sup>1</sup> The collective study of scholars of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the USSR and Czechoslovakia, which was performed within the activity of the Problem Commission of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries "Questions of the Ideological Struggle in Connection With the Coexistence of the Two World Systems," touches upon a number of the most urgent themes of the current ideological confrontation. Tracing the main traits and peculiarities of bourgeois futurology under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, the authors note that the aggravation of socio-economic problems in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the political crises, the rise in the level of unemployment, the increase of crime and drug addiction led to disillusionment in the openly apologetic theories of "postindustrialism" and to the move to the forefront of pessimistic and even eschatological conceptions.

In the chapter "The Evolution of American Futurology" (I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada) these questions are examined in connection with the overestimation of the theoretical and methodological postulates to futurology of the 1960's, its ceaseless criticism and the raising of new problems. Modern American "futurologists" following J. Forrester and D. Meadows focus attention on the threat of overpopulation of the planet, the

1. See, for example, I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, "Okno v budushcheye" /Window to the Future/, Moscow, 1970; E. A. Arab-Ogly, "V labirinte prorochestv" /In the Labyrinth of Prophecies/, Moscow, 1973; Yu. I. Ozhegov, "Sotsial'noye prognozirovaniye i ideologicheskaya bor'ba" /Social Forecasting and the Ideological Struggle/, Moscow, 1975; V. V. Kosolapov, V. A. Lisichkin, "Kritika burzhuaznykh kontseptsii budushchego" /A Critique of Bourgeois Conceptions of the Future/, Moscow, 1978; G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, "Fiasco futurologii (kriticheskiy analiz nemarksistskikh teorii obshchestvennogo razvitiya)" /The Fiasco of Futurology (A Critical Analysis of Non-Marxist Theories of Social Development)/, Moscow, 1978; (A. Benish), (D. Rayknel't), "Burzhuaznyye kontseptsii obshchestva i deystvitel'nost'" /Bourgeois Conceptions of the Future and Reality/, Moscow, 1980.

depletion of natural resources and an ecological catastrophe. The author shows the utopian nature of the prescriptions proposed by the models of "zero growth" and "a new quality of life," the inability of American futurology to find a solution to the crises, since it seeks the cause of the latter not in the socio-economic nature of capitalism, but in the sphere of technology and management.

Analyzing the structure of futurological theories, A. Kozharov indicated the inadequate attention of their originators to the philosophical and sociological substantiation of their conclusions, and positivistic orientations are at times passed off as the objectivity and unbiasedness of the scientific position of the researcher. Therefore the enthusiasm for the development of forecasting methods, the check of their reliability and so on, as a rule, does not lead to a scientific solution of the problems raised by the authors. In the book it is correctly emphasized that "the conceptual content, which is explicitly incorporated or is implied in the terms used by forecasters, the interpretation of social phenomena, which is most often made 'in passing,' as well as the evasion of an interpretation of some basic social phenomena... are the display of unscientific philosophical and methodological stances" (p 16). In order to be truly scientific, social forecasting should be based on the objective laws of the development of society, its real needs, resources and motive forces. Bourgeois futurology owing to its class narrow-mindedness is not able to reveal the contradiction between "the spontaneous nature of the socio-economic system and the need for planning and regulation in all areas of life" (p 23).

In the opinion of P. Ganchev, the gnoseological and methodological aims of K. Popper, who denied both the objectivity of the laws of social development and the possibility of predicting the future on the basis of the knowledge of these laws, had considerable influence on futurological studies. The ideas of A. Toynbee, K. Jaspers and P. Sorokin are used extensively in bourgeois futurology. As a result, technological determinism is combined eclectically with subjectivism and relativism. This is typical of the views of J. Fourastie, Z. Brzezinski, A. Toffler, W. Rostow, R. Aaron and other representatives of "postindustrialism."

The chapter "Critique of Bourgeois Conceptions of the Future in France" (V. P. Rachkov) substantially augments and extends the idea of forecasting studies in the West. French specialists do not accept the term "futurology" and use the concepts "long-range exploration," "planning" and "programming." The use in this country (for the first time in the capitalist world) of long-range forecasting within national planning gave rise to the aspiration to develop a system of comprehensive forecasting for the purpose of controlling social processes (see p 72). In spite of the serious differences between the two main trends of "perspectivism"--the bourgeois apologetic and the liberal critical--their strategic forecasts and goals do not go beyond a neo-Keynesian version of state monopoly regulation. At the same time it is being proposed more and more often "to integrate in a rationally organized global system the two presently existing social forces--labor and capital, socialism and capitalism" (p 96).

The chapter "Bourgeois Forecasts of the Development of International Relations" (P. Raychani) is devoted to the examination of important and little studied futurological research. The forecasts of Bell, Pestel and Mesarovic, as well as the conceptions of political scientists Morgenthau, Kissinger, Aaron and Brzezinski, who develop the reactionary theories of "the balance of forces" and "a multipolar world,"

are analyzed in it. In the author's opinion, the underlying postulates of these doctrines, which in point of fact "psychologize" international relations, reduce to a struggle for domination and hegemony.

A detailed characterization of another trend of bourgeois studies of the future—social reformism—is given in the chapter "A Critique of Social Reformism in Futurology" (O. Susha). The notion of evolutionary "social changes" as a quantitative process of successive partial changes is the basis for it (see p 155). The author is unquestionably correct that the supporters of this approach "either aspire indirectly, in a latent form, to apologize for this society (capitalism—N. K.) or perpetuate it in the form of unrealistic and irrationalistic criticism" (p 164).

The final chapter "Problems of the Way and Quality of Life in Modern Bourgeois Futurology" (N. M. Blinov) is devoted to the analysis of the latest bourgeois concepts of "the quality of life," which appeared in the arsenal of futurologists of the West in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The requirement of "a new quality of life" is an attempt at the modernization of basic socio-economic theories (the concepts of "technocracy," "postindustrial society" and so forth). In this connection it is noted in the chapter that "in their essence the ideas in question are nothing other than a new social reformist version of the apologia of the capitalist system" (p 237).

In speaking about the merits of the book under review as a whole, it is necessary to note first of all the successful combination of popularity with a high scientific level of exposition. A positive analysis of the problems of the future from a Marxist-Leninist position accompanies the clear, understandable and at the same time thorough criticism of various trends of bourgeois futurology.

At the same time the book is not without shortcomings. We should assign to them the fact that often in different chapters the same bourgeois theories of the future are analyzed, the same sources are mentioned. The social indicators used by western futurologists are practically not examined. Only N. M. Blinov touches upon the question of the use of "subjective" indicators of "the quality of life"; the systems of "objective" indicators remained outside the field of view of the authors. Meanwhile in modern forecasting and planning social indicators are regarded as necessary tools of the management of the economy (owing to the obvious inadequacy of "economic" information) and other spheres of the life of society. There are national and international systems of social indicators, on which great hopes are being placed in connection with the attempts at the simulation of the development of society: social indicators act as means of an "early warning" about crisis social processes. The criticism of the use of these systems in global simulations would have increased considerably the scientific value of the book.

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CSO: 1806



## SOCIAL ACTIVITY OF SOVIET WORKERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 201-203

[Review by N. A. Nikolayeva of the book "Sotsial'naya aktivnost' sovetskikh rabochikh (nekotoryye metodologicheskiye i sotsiologicheskiye aspekty problemy)" (The Social Activity of Soviet Workers [Some Methodological and Sociological Aspects of the Problem]) by V. A. Smirnov, Moscow, Politizdat, 1979, 207 pages]

[Text] Under the conditions of developed socialism the social activity of the working class increases, its role as the leading force of our society is strengthened. The monograph of V. A. Smirnov is devoted to the study of the main forms of the social activity of Soviet workers.

As the author correctly remarks, some methodological aspects of social activity so far have not yet been adequately covered in the literature. Meanwhile, without having solved them, it is impossible to arrive at an explanation of the accumulated empirical information. In this connection the attempt made in the book to develop the concept of social activity and a system of its indicators is especially valuable.

Two main approaches in the explanation of the nature of the phenomenon in question are visible in modern scientific literature. Some believe that activity is a universal, attributive property of matter, which expresses its aptitude for self-motion.<sup>1</sup> In our opinion, this is too broad an interpretation. The point of view of the author of the monograph, according to which activity occurs only where reflective informational processes are in evidence, is more productive. The essence of these processes lies in the ability of their vehicles to react to magnitudes (signals) of influence regardless of their physical nature, which becomes possible only with the appearance of self-governed systems, that is, with the emergence of movement as the activity of organisms, including the social organism (see p 20).

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1. See "Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya aktivnost' trudyashchikhsya" [The Sociopolitical Activity of Workers], Sverdlovsk, 1970, pp 13, 19; "Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya aktivnost' molodezhi" [The Sociopolitical Activity of Young People], Moscow, 1970, p 14; M. A. Nagayev, "Trudovaya aktivnost' rabochego klassa razvitoogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva (teoretiko-metodologicheskiy aspekt)" [The Labor Activity of the Working Class of the Developed Socialist Society (The Theoretical and Methodological Aspect)], Kazan', 1975, pp 15, 16.

The most important principles of historical materialism are the methodological basis of the analysis of the mechanism and structure of social activity. In the works of the classics of Marxism the concept "activity" is used in the meaning "initiative" and "intensified action,"<sup>2</sup> that is, the concepts "activity" and "action" are regarded as close, but not identical--activity is manifested in action. In the opinion of V. A. Smirnov, social activity is a measure of social action, which expresses "the nature (social importance) and scale of the changes made during and as a result of this action in the natural and social environment surrounding the individual (group), as well as the changes in this very individual (group)" (p 25). However, action is only the objective manifestation of the activity which is characterized by the unity of the objective and the subjective aspects. Its subjective aspect is the sociopsychological aims of the individual (group).

In conformity with the main forms of social action the author distinguishes the most important forms of activity: production labor and sociopolitical and activity in the sphere of spiritual culture and everyday life. They are all interconnected, and therefore it is possible to speak "only of a different correlation of these main forms within a single formation--social activity" (p 29).

In order to construct a system of indicators of social activity, which at present is of great theoretical importance, the concept "standard" or "model activity" is introduced in the monograph (p 34). It should reflect "what already exists in life, in the social action of the masses as the most advanced thing... what today is an example which meets to the greatest extent the requirements of the communist ideal of the individual and his action in various spheres of life" (ibid.). The real activity in this system of indicators can be characterized as "high," "average" and "low." That social action of the subject, in which the "ideal" model is embodied either completely or basically, is understood as high activity. Low activity almost completely does not correspond to the standard activity, while average activity occupies an intermediate position.

In our opinion, it is impossible to agree with the point of view of the author, according to which the activity of the individual with an antisocial direction, or "negative" activity, acts as the opposite of the standard activity (p 36). The introduction in the system of such a concept seems unjustified to us, since it is possible to group with socially active subjects only those subjects (classes, social strata, individuals), whose action corresponds to the objective trends of the development of society and is conducive to its progress.

As a whole the attempt made by V. A. Smirnov to construct a scientifically sound system of indicators of the social activity of the working class seems very productive to us. The proposed system makes it possible to strictly subordinate all the diversity of the manifestations of social activity, as well as to identify the factors of its increase in the labor, sociopolitical and cultural spheres of action.

The main indicator of the labor activity of the worker is his observance of labor discipline. The specific nature of this indicator consists in the fact that it characterizes the effectiveness of the use of working time, the importance of which

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2. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 495; V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 1, pp 423, 424; Vol 29, pp 194, 195.

under present conditions is increasing in connection with the broadening of the scale of production, its complication and the increase of the interdependence of all its links. The analysis of such types of labor activity as the fulfillment of production assignments, the improvement of skills, the increase of occupational mastery, the drive for a policy of economy, the increase of work quality and the quality of the output being produced, participation in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and in socialist competition, which was made on the basis of the data of numerous sociological studies of the 1960's and 1970's, is of definite interest.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the increase of the labor activity of workers is inseparably connected with the further increase of their sociopolitical activity, which is aimed at the transformation of socialist social relations into communist social relations. This form of social activity presumes voluntary, conscious, unpaid participation in socially necessary labor. It is possible to agree with the author of the monograph that sociopolitical activity is a mandatory condition of the improvement of the individual, since under socialism "it is not some 'partial,' 'economic' man who acts as the subject of labor activity, but the integral individual, who is the subject of the sociopolitical activity inherent in socialism in unity with all his components--sociopolitical knowledge, convictions and acts" (p 158). The gradual transition from simple forms to complex, meaningful forms (participation in the management of the affairs of the production collective, the state) is characteristic of this type of activity of workers. Two main types of sociopolitical activity, the participation of workers in the management of production and their fulfillment of public assignments, are revealed in the work of V. A. Smirnov.

A special system of public organs of management, which includes permanent production conferences (there are now more than 130,000 of them in the country), public bureaus of rate setting and economic analysis, public personnel departments, a "Komsomol Searchlight" and others, has been set up at modern enterprises. The participation of workers in production management also involves their work in elected organs of the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations of enterprises. However, this problem has not yet been completely solved. According to the data of sociological studies, an average degree of activity is characteristic for the majority of workers (53.8 percent), and among women workers and young people it is lower than the average indicators. Thus, among Komsomol members one in four or five does not take any part in the discussion of the affairs of the collective (p 167). The sociopolitical activity of workers in many ways depends on the moral and political climate of the labor collective. That is why the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work" directs the attention of party organizations and all communists toward the creation of the conditions which would ensure to the greatest extent the enterprising, creative participation of workers in the affairs of the collective and in public life.

The fulfillment by workers of public assignments is the second most important indicator of the form of social activity in question. In the monograph a comparative analysis of the results of sociological studies of the 1960's and 1970's and of the 1920's through 1940's is made and on this basis the conclusion is drawn that in the past period the sociopolitical activity of workers has not only increased, but has also changed qualitatively. Thus, whereas in the 1920's "meeting" activity

predominated, at present the most active form of participation in public work is the fulfillment of assignments (p 172).

In speaking about the cultural and everyday activity of workers, the author correctly emphasizes that its natural increase occurs under the conditions of socialism. This finds expression first of all in the significant increase of the number of workers who devote their free time to such types of action as reading, studies, creative work, amateur art activity, sports and so on.

Of course, this monograph does not aspire to comprehensive coverage of the raised problems. In particular, the questions connected with the activity of the working class in the cultural and everyday sphere are examined only in general outline. At the same time the assumptions formulated in the book can serve as the theoretical basis for a more detailed analysis of various types of social activity, while the system of indicators proposed by the author can be used when drafting the plans of ideological educational work in labor collectives, as well as for conducting studies of the state of the public activity of workers.

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## LITERARY AVANT-GARDE, COUNTERCULTURE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 204-207

/Review by A. F. Filippov and V. Ts. Khudaverdyan of the books "Begstvo ot svobody. Filosofskoye mifotvorchestvo i literaturnyy avangard" (Flight From Freedom. Philosophical Myth Making and the Literary Avant-Garde) by Yu. N. Davydov, Moscow, Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1978, 365 pages, and "Sotsiologiya kontrkul'tury (infantilizm kak tip mirovospriyatiya u sotsial'naya bolezni)" (The Sociology of Counter-culture /Infantilism as a Type of World Perception and a Social Disease/) by Yu. N. Davydov and I. B. Rodnyanskaya, Moscow, Nauka, 1980, 265 pages<sup>1/</sup>

/Text No matter what problems sociologists study, society as a whole is always in their field of view. The scope of this whole essentially determines the success of the sociological study, for the laws of the phenomenon being studied are revealed only in correlation with the broadest possible social relations and dependences. These general principles acquire particular importance in the sociological study of culture. However, the question immediately arises of the boundaries of applicability of traditional sociological methods to the analysis of culture and of the relationship of the strictly sociological, the culturological and the historical cultural approaches. The clear recognition of this problem and a fruitful attempt to solve it are characteristic of the works under review.

One of the essential distinctions of historical materialism from vulgar sociology is the fact that the former unequivocally rejects the direct reduction of the laws of the spiritual sphere to the socio-economic conditions which prevail "here and now." Spiritual culture not only shines with reflected light, but also plays the role of an active source, it is not only a consequence, but also a cause. Its development is relatively independent of socio-economic processes. But in the end spiritual culture appears as an unquestionably secondary phenomenon with respect to the social existence of people. But where do you look for this "end"? How do you identify the cause-effect relationship in the sociocultural area? When are we dealing with a reflection of social existence and when are we dealing with what is inherent in culture?

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1. Below in the text the former of the books being reviewed is designated by the number 1, the latter is designated by the number 2.



In order to solve these problems it is first of all necessary to make a thorough critical historical philosophical and culturological analysis. Such an analysis has been made by Yu. N. Davydov in a number of works, which are devoted to the philosophical background and ideological makeup of the movement of the "new leftists"<sup>2</sup> and its modern heirs. It would seem that a purely sociological study, the identification of the socially natural and the striking off of the accidental should be the next step. And then it is possible simply to compare the philosophical constructs of the "ideological fathers" of the Frankfurt School with the "new left" ideology and politics. But the whole truth does not lie in the making of two such studies which are independent of each other. Yu. N. Davydov proposes a fundamentally different method. The regularity or at least the nonrandom nature of the extremist excesses in the lap of the "new left" movement could have been noticed only by having linked its political slogans with its philosophical premises, with its notions about human personality, about the spiritual measurement of its existence and so on.

The latter, as paradoxical as this might sound, could have revealed their real, but not "ideologized" content only in connection with the examination of the philosophy of culture, which animates this movement, in connection with the belletristic aims of the "new leftists" (1, p 197). This approach involves, in particular, the search for some deep-seated organizing principles of the perception of the world, which are common to the art, the ideology and, finally, the politics of one movement or another. The principle of play, which has long been inherent in art, in the opinion of the author, should be grouped with such principles. Hypertrophied in intellectual romanticism, it was received in this form (along with its "mythologems") by the theory and practice of the "new leftists." Yu. N. Davydov convincingly shows how the play in art turned into a feigning of art. Politics was used so irresponsibly, "playfully," for lending some certainty to this self-destructive art. In the end the totality of the principle took the form of the adventurous, often provocative political practice of the "new leftists."

Of course, the diverse sources and causes of the specific ideology and politics of the "new leftists" and their spiritual heirs do not reduce to the above-indicated principle. An important service of the author of "Begstvo ot svobody" consists in the fact that for him the study of modern philosophical and political concepts is not in some cultural historical vacuum. He enlists extensive historical philosophical material on the three in one problem "the individual--culture--freedom" and analyzes the courses of development of artistic work in the 20th century, seeing in the intersection of these two lines, which are not that far apart, the focal point of their study.

On the basis of the study of diverse sociophilosophical interpretations of modern West European literature (the reader at times is even lost in the abundance of ideas, concepts and points of view, which have fallen upon him) Yu. N. Davydov reveals the qualitative differences in the approach of bourgeois ideologists to the understanding of the individual. On the one hand, the evolution of "the concept of man" in the first half of the 20th century is traced, the extreme changeability and

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2. See in this connection first of all his summary monograph: Yu. N. Davydov, "Kritika sotsial'no-filosofskikh vozzreniy Frankfurtskoy shkoly" /A Critique of the Sociophilosophical Views of the Frankfurt School/, Moscow, 1977.

contradictoriness of the views of bourgeois cultural philosophers on the individual are emphasized. On the other hand, the author examines the attitude toward it of M. Horkheimer, T. Adorno and H. Marcuse, who stated that the principle of the individual and personal freedom, to which the existentialists appeal, is historically untenable and theoretically false. "In practice the social philosophy of the Frankfurt School was (and remained) the philosophy of the 'avant-garde,' which exists due to the self-exposure, the self-destruction of art and literature; at the same time the Frankfurt theorists see the meaning of this 'paradoxical' existence precisely in the fact that it, they say, 'models' the hopeless position of the individual... under the conditions of 'late'... capitalism" (1, p 191).

When studying a quite developed phenomenon of art we can indeed "see eternity in one moment, the enormous world in a grain of sand." This phenomenon can become for the scholar a magnifying glass, through which it is possible to perceive better many social problems. Such was the counterculture. In the book "Sotsiologiya kontrkul'tury"<sup>3</sup> it is shown to what the logical development of a number of the fundamental philosophical aims of the movement of the "new leftists" led, what the social and cultural causes which gave rise to the counterculture are and, finally, what its meaning is for the social whole (for, as Yu. N. Davydov correctly notes, when analyzing phenomena of culture, we do not have the right to avoid the evaluation of their semantic content precisely in the interests of sociological science and objectivity).

An important feature of "Sotsiologiya kontrkul'tury" consists in the attempt to put into practice one of the main Marxist methodological principles of the construction of a scientific theory: the ascent from the abstract to the concrete. Each subsequent chapter as if "cancels" the preceding one, enriching the theory by means of dialectical negation. The introduction gives us a general characterization of the counterculture in comparison with the ideology of the "new leftists," which served as the launching pad for the modern theorists of the counterculture, who show their alleged understanding of this phenomenon via criticism of the "new left" ideology for inadequate radicalism. But at the same time it turns out: "...what was the unrealized 'underlying implication' of the movement of the 'new leftists' in the counterculture was conveyed not simply by an 'overt text,' but was highly italicized. The mysticism of the counterculture was revealed by young rebels, who were disillusioned by politics, as the articulated content of their own 'subconscious,' as an expression of that to which they aspired, but did not admit this even to themselves when they engaged in 'new left' politics" (2, p 7).

Extensive material on the history of culture, which was reflected in the mirror of American sociology, is generalized in the first chapter, which is very rich in content. Then various types of the sociological explanation of the counterculture in western sociology are critically analyzed and the fundamental impossibility of explaining this phenomenon while retaining the point of view of sociological reductionism is shown. Later, the counterculture is compared with culture, the means of perceiving the world, which is constructed in it, is elucidated. But when examining the counterculture type of individual we are again as if on the surface of

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3. The first chapter of the book was written by I. B. Rodnyanskaya, the remaining chapters, the foreword, the introduction and the conclusion were written by Yu. N. Davydov.

the "display" of the counterculture to the world. But the knowledge of what is on the surface is not superficial knowledge. For the authors have brought us to a rich, concrete idea of the essence of the counterculture.

The "countercultural" aspiration of nonconformist young people was an invariant of all the forms of protest of young people from the beatniks and hippies to the current representatives of the counterculture. But in this case more deep-seated organizing principles than the principle of play, which consolidated the movement of the "new leftists," should lie at the basis of the latter. It should be taken into account that the counterculture "is not simply an ideology, and even not simply a certain type of sensation and perception of the world; it is at the same time also a plan of the way of life, a model of behavior, a principle of existence" (2, p 168). The principle of pleasure became such a principle, which dictates the basic anti-cultural direction of the counterculture: all-embracing hedonism, which does not recognize any restrictions in the sphere of sensuality, which goes as far as the negation of the principle of "self" (for any "self" as something specific also acts as something limited), hedonism, which the liberal obeisances of the defenders of the counterculture to real culture cannot conceal. And whereas, for example, in the ideology of the "new leftists" the boundaries between art and politics were erased, in the counterculture "life is transformed into an ambiguous 'game of life,' ambiguous because the 'secret' awareness of the severity and irreversibility of life remains insurmountable. And art becomes a panderer and a seducer, reducing the irreducible and prompting man to act as if such a 'fraternization of impossibilities' was feasible not only in the ideal dimension of the imagination, but also in the real dimension of reality" (2, p 229).

An important result of the study of the counterculture is the elucidation of its anticultural, parasitic essence. Whereas liberal bourgeois sociologists aspire, having glossed over the most offensive traits, to describe the counterculture as a "novelty" in contemporary culture of the West, Yu. N. Davydov shows its fundamental inability to function as a culture, that is, as a system of universally significant norms and values.

But why, then, is the counterculture a subject of the sociology of culture? Yu. N. Davydov indicates two circumstances in this connection. First, "as paradoxical as it may be, a person is able if not to lead a 'countercultural' mode of existence, then at least to approach this 'ideal' only within culture." At the same time the counterculture is an expression of the aspirations for a certain way of life of some group of people. Therefore, second, "the question... immediately acquires a purely sociological formulation: what kind of people are these, who aspire to a special form of... existence at the expense of culture, but as its sworn enemies. What is the real social meaning of these aspirations? What is their meaning from the point of view of the prospects of the further evolution of western culture, the prospects of cultural development in general?" (2, p 205).

In other words, the circle is completed: the counterculture is regarded at first as the result of the crisis of the socialization of young people. Then it turns out that the reduction of the phenomenon of the counterculture only to the indicated crisis does not explain to us the meaning of the counterculture. A culturological study is needed, which simultaneously both permits and forces us to return to the sociological point of view, to the problem of the bearers of the counterculture, to the countercultural type of individual, that is, to that aspect of the

analysis, in which the sociological and sociopsychological study takes into account to the greatest extent the data of the study of culture. And thereby the latter is also enriched considerably.

The described method of studying the counterculture makes it possible to draw a number of interesting conclusions not only about the counterculture itself, but also with respect to a broader group of problems. In particular, one of the central problems of the book belongs here: the crisis of the socialization of young people in the West. Having critically examined the prevailing methods of explaining this crisis ("the paradigm of family socialization," the structural-functional approach, the use of Mannheim's concept of generations), Yu. N. Davydov states a number of valuable opinions on the sociology of education, particularly the correlation of the influence of the family, social institutions and the "subculture" of young people in the process of socialization.

The conclusions of I. V. Rodnyanskaya about the "self-defeat" of the counterculture, particularly its religious defeat, are extremely interesting. It is not ruled out that the sources of future influential youth movements in the West should be sought in the process of this "self-defeat," and therefore close attention should be directed to it.

In the book it is convincingly shown that many significant cultural movements in the West have features in common with the counterculture. Not without reason did the counterculture borrow the romantic cult of the Artist, not without reason is the game of pleasure not that far from the (highly spiritual!) "game of beads."

The comparison of the objective laws of the emergence and development of the counterculture and the specific nature of the present socio-economic crisis in the capitalist countries is very important. Young people from the middle and upper classes of bourgeois society, who were raised in the spirit of unrestrained consumerism and did not want to assume new obligations, which were connected with growing up, which coincided with the collapse of the "consumer society," became the bearers of the counterculture. In this way it is possible to show (precisely to show, and not to postulate without grounds) that the counterculture is the result of the general crisis of capitalism at its present stage. On the other hand, the examination of the phenomenon of the counterculture and the immediate causes giving rise to it helps to cast a new light on some essential traits of this crisis.

It can only be regretted that in the work "Sotsiologiya kontrkul'tury" some interesting cultural history parallels did not find proper development (this concerns, in particular, the carnival nature of the counterculture, which is repeatedly noted by the authors). The weak connection of the first chapter with the remaining material and the general direction of the monograph is also among the shortcomings of the book.

We would like to conclude the review with an indication of the moral aspect of both books. Both the enthusiastic defense of the values of cultural tradition and the convincing exposure of the consumerist mentality belong here. We cannot be indifferent to this problem. The evil demon of consumerism once in a while will also peer in our doors. Both books are an accusation of consumerism and a warning against it. "A culture, which does not have a loftier goal than unlimited



consumption and hedonism, which has become a kind of mysticism, is... a senile withering culture, which has lost its promise, and at the same time the will for productive creativity. Moreover, the most alarming thing is when the senile gravitation of culture toward death... infects young people, who begin to perceive this gravitation as an optimist prospect. And when the bulk of these young people reach the size of a 'critical mass'--a possibility which looms before the 'consumer society' as a quite real possibility--society... passes into nonexistence" (2, p 224). It is impossible not to agree with this.

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## MARITAL, FAMILY RELATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 207-208

/Review by A. V. Zadvornyy of the book "The Good Name of the Family" (in Ukrainian) by A. V. Myalovitskiy, Kiev, Politizdat Ukrainy, 1979, 78 pages/

/Text The book of A. V. Myalovitskiy, which was written on the basis of materials of sociological studies conducted by the author, contains interesting suggestions and raises a number of important questions, among which are the interrelations of the family and society, the role of the family in the education of the rising generation and the improvement of the system of the legal regulation of marital and family relations.

The activity of labor collectives, which is aimed at the stabilization of marital and family relations and at giving material and moral assistance to the family in the raising of children, is also examined in the book. At the same time the author quite correctly notes that one should not get carried away by general appeals for an intensification of the drive to strengthen the family by the forces of the public. It is necessary first to define clearly those spheres of family relations in which such intervention is desirable (pp 22, 23).

The pages of the book on which the experience gained in the republic in introducing new family rituals is generalized attract attention. They are called upon to play a positive role in the development of family traditions and the strengthening of the foundations of the family, and an account is given of the activity of the commission set up in the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet for the elaboration of recommendations on a uniform procedure of registration of marriage, the birth of a child, the receipt of a passport, send-offs for service in the Soviet Army and so on. As for family rearing, A. B. Myalovitskiy analyzes such important aspects of it as labor education, the formation of a socialist model of consumption, the struggle against private-ownership tendencies and consumerist sentiments, and emphasizes the great moral importance of family relics: photographs, attributes of moral incentives for services in labor and battle and so on.

The author broached and, in our opinion, successfully solved the question of the role of social and psychological compatibility in the strengthening of the family. However, the arguments concerning biological compatibility are somewhat superficial. It essentially reduces in the book to satisfaction with sexual life. Some other arguments, for example, about the influence of the mass media on education in the family, also suffer from sketchiness and a declarative nature.

As a whole the book "The Good Name of the Family," which was developed on the basis of abundant factual material and is devoted to urgent problems of the family, is of considerable interest.

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## THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 208-209

[Review] by R. B. Suleymenov of the book "Nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i intelligentsiya" (The Scientific and Technical Revolution and the Intelligentsia) by Ts. R. Rozenberg, Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, 1979, 146 pages

[Text] Under the conditions of mature socialism such processes as the integration of science and production, the involvement of some groups of the intelligentsia of the humanities in the sphere of physical production, the change of labor functions as a result of the "industrialization" and technicalization of mental activity, the increase of the social homogeneity of the intelligentsia, the overcoming of social differences between workers of physical and mental labor and others have a substantial influence on the social makeup of the intelligentsia. The study of these questions invariably attracts the attention of sociologists. The book under review is interesting for the fact that the author skillfully combines the analysis of the all-union (of statistical, sociological, literary monographic material) and the local, the Kazakh. This makes it possible to show more vividly and visibly the advantages of socialism in the formation and development of the intelligentsia and in the training of specialists who are capable of solving the most complicated problems which are advanced by the present scientific and technical revolution.

The changes in the composition of the intelligentsia of Kazakhstan, as the author shows, are dictated first of all by the fact that a multisectorial industry and highly mechanized agriculture are developing rapidly in this large economic region of the country. Without resorting to figures (which are cited in the book), let us note just the trends identified by the author, which reflect especially vividly the progressive structural changes in the economy of the republic: the decline of the proportion of specialists in geology and the exploration of mineral deposits, the increase of the proportion of specialists in the field of machine building and instrument making, electronic engineering, electrical instrument making and automation, radio engineering, chemical technology, the substantial decrease of the proportion of experienced workers among engineers and technicians, who are employed in industry. The number of scientists, especially in those fields of science which in many ways govern the rate of technical progress, is increasing most rapidly. The number of candidates and doctors of sciences here has increased more rapidly than the total number of scientists.

The author draws on interesting material to characterize the process of the convergence of the working class and the engineering and technical personnel. In particular, some questions of the use of technicians in positions of engineers, as well as specialists in workplaces are examined.

In analyzing the features of the development of various detachments of the intelligentsia of Kazakhstan, Ts. R. Rozenberg notes that it unites in its ranks specialists of tens of nationalities. Kazakh specialists make up one of its most significant detachments. During 1960-1977 their proportion among workers with a higher education increased by more than 9 percent, while among scientists it increased 5.5-fold. In graduate studies the proportion of Kazakhs in 1975 approached 80 percent. The data cited in the book on the formation and growth of the Kazakh engineering and technical intelligentsia are no less significant.

The author stresses that the accelerated formation and growth of the national detachments of the Soviet intelligentsia, including the Kazakh intelligentsia, became possible owing to the wise policy of the Communist Party and the disinterested assistance of the Russian and other fraternal peoples of the USSR.

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## LINGUOPSYCHOSOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF MASS COMMUNICATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 p 209

/Review by O. M. Maslova of the book "Organizatsiya i metody lingvopsikhosotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya massovoy kommunikatsii (uchebnoye posobiye-praktikum po spetskursu 'Vvedeniye v lingvosotsiopsikhologiyu')"

 (The Organization and Methods of the Linguopsychosociological Study of Mass Communication [A Textbook-Exercise Book for the Special Course "Introduction to Linguosociopsychology"/) by T. M. Dridze, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo MGU, 1979, 281 pages/

/Text The book of T. M. Dridze is devoted to questions of the study, perception and understanding of newspaper information. The program, set of methodological tools and empirical results of the study conducted by the author in Taganrog in 1968 are at the basis of the work. The theme of the study is: "The Influence of the Semiotic Level of the Audience and the Informational Level of Textual Materials on the Awareness of the Population (Within the Framework of the Study of the Press)."

The material in the textbook is arranged so as to facilitate as much as possible for the reader-sociologist its critical interpretation and practical use. The sections of the book reflect the main stages of the research process: 1) the statement of the problem, 2) the set of methodological tools for gathering the data, 3) instructions on the use of the set of tools, 4) the methodological procedures for analyzing the empirical results, 5) the empirical data, which are presented in the form of primary distributions, grouping tables and histograms.

Such a structure of exposition makes it possible to compare each of the problems raised in the theoretical section of the program with its methods support and the results of the study. For example, the problem of determining the conditions of providing information to the newspaper audience is backed in the methods section by a questionnaire and test for identifying the degree of familiarity with the names of prominent writers, political figures, athletes and so on. Another problem--the determination of the level of semiotic training of the audience--received methodological embodiment in a set of tests, which were specially developed by the author for the purpose of ascertaining to what extent the readers are acquainted with the vocabulary of the newspaper, to what extent they understand and are able to adequately interpret complicated texts. The methods also make it possible to determine the emotional aspects of the perception of the terms which are often used in the materials of the press (the "semantic differential" method of C. Osgood).



At the same time the interdisciplinary nature of the work requires great strictness in the definition and use of the concepts of the related sciences. For example, in the title and subtitle of the book the author uses two different concepts--"linguopsychosociology" and "linguosociopsychology"--without explaining in the text of the book their relationship. The emergence of concepts in new research directions is a protracted and complicated matter. But nevertheless it is important for these terminological alternative versions to be explained to the reader if only in brief, taking into account the methodological, and not the theoretical nature of the textbook. References to the previous publications of the author, in which these questions are examined in more detail, would have also been appropriate.

After becoming acquainted with the work of T. M. Dridze, the sociologist studying the mass media will be able to make a comparative study on the same problem, having used the proposed methods quite correctly. The textbook-exercise book, which reflects the experience of developing and using original methods for studying problems which arise at the intersection of linguistics, psychology and sociology, is of unquestionable scientific and practical interest.

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## YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE SOCIALIST CITY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 p 210

/Review by G. V. Papoyan of the book "Molodezh' sotsialisticheskogo goroda: byt, traditsii, obychai" (Young People of the Socialist City: Daily Life, Traditions, Customs) by G. F. Naumenko, Kiev, Naukova dumka, 1979, 156 pages

/Text So far the problems of daily life, traditions and customs have been, as a rule, a research topic of ethnographers. The sociological study of these cultural and historical phenomena affords great opportunities for the fruitful analysis of the socialist way of life. The book under review provides us with a successful example of such an approach. On the basis of the results of long-term (1967-1977) sociological studies and the data of state statistics the author was able to show the mechanism and features of the formation of new forms of the daily life of young people in an urbanized environment.

In revealing the socio-economic conditionality of changes in the sphere of the cultural and everyday life of the industrial city, G. F. Naumenko distinguishes such important traits of this process as the deepening of the international content of daily life and its qualitative transformation. The latter is connected, first, with the increase of the overall culture of the population and the needs of people and, second, with the increase of the esthetic level of the objective environment. The identified regularities are manifested especially clearly in the daily life of the present young generation, of which a high level of education, developed cultural needs and so on are characteristic.

The author examines in detail the most important factor of the formation and strengthening of everyday practical knowledge--traditions. By influencing the consciousness and behavior of the individual primarily through emotions, traditions and customs play a great role in the formation of one's personality. In this connection G. F. Naumenko characterizes the process of the formation of new rituals within both national and Soviet traditions.

Not everything that was contemplated turned out equally well for the author. Thus, obviously inadequate attention is devoted to some dysfunctional phenomena in the daily life of young people and to the problem of the discrepancy between new Soviet traditions and old forms of rituals and so on; in a number of places the work is oversaturated with figures. As a whole the book will unquestionably be greeted with the interest both of sociologists and of party, soviet and Komsomol workers.

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GRIGORIY YERUKHIMOVICH GLEZERMAN

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, 1970 p 211

/Obituary/

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